



INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

[Activities of United States Citizens in Red China]

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT
DEPARTMENTS

JULY 27, SEPTEMBER 27 AND 28, 1954

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SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY

ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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¹ The Honorable Pat McCarran was active in the work of the subcommittee until his death, September 28, 1954.

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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

TUESDAY, JULY 27, 1954

United States Senate,
Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration
of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal
Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2 p. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Hon. William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner, Welker, and Hendrickson.

Also present: Alva C. Carpenter, counsel; Ben Mandel, research director; Robert McManus and Edna Fluegel, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Greene, will you come forward? Will you be sworn to testify? Do you swear the testimony given in this hearing by you will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Greene. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name?

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM GREENE, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, CARL W. BERUEFFY

Mr. Greene. William Greene.

The Chairman. Where do you reside, Mr. Greene?

Mr. Greene. 429 First Street, Annapolis, Md.

The Chairman. And what is your business or profession?

Mr. Greene. Engineering.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you are here with counsel.

Counsel, would you give our reporter your name and address?

Mr. Berueffy, Carl W. Berueffy, B-e-r-u-e-f-f-y, 636 Wyatt Building, Washington.

The Chairman. Let the record show that Senator Welker is present.

Proceed, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter. When and where were you born?

Mr. Greene. Where? New York City.

Mr. CARPENTER. When?

Mr. GREENE. 1916.

Mr. Carpenter. And will you give us your educational background? Mr. Greene. I went to public school in New York City, public high school in New York City; graduated at the College of Engineering, New York University, in 1937.

Mr. Carpenter. And you were employed after that?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Where were you employed?

Mr. Greene. I was employed by the Engineering and Research Corp. of Riverdale, Md.

Mr. CARPENTER. And where did you live during that employment?

Mr. Greene. Well, I lived in suburban Maryland, relative to Washington, D. C., except for the period of my first marriage, and that period was from the very end of 1942 to about late spring of 1947.

Mr. Carpenter. And to whom were you married in your first

marriage?

Mr. Greene. I was married to Jean Hinton.

Mr. Carpenter. Jean Hinton? Mr. Greene. J-e-a-n H-i-n-t-o-n.

Mr. Carpenter. Where did you reside?

Mr. Greene. For the first year of our marriage, we resided in the 1700 block of I Street, and in the balance of the marriage we resided on Harvard Street, 1739, Northwest.

Mr. Carpenter. And how long did you live at that address? Mr. Greene. About 3 years, I guess, approximately 3 years.

Mr. Carpenter. And when you were living at that Harvard Street address, did a Miss Joan Hinton visit that home?

Mr. Greene. She did.

Mr. CARPENTER. And who was she?

Mr. Greene. She was the sister of my ex-wife.

Mr. Carpenter. Did a Mr. William Hinton visit your home?

Mr. Greene. He did.

Mr. CARPENTER. Who was he?

Mr. Greene. He was the brother of my ex-wife. Mr. Carpenter. Now, who was Joan Hinton?

Mr. Greene. She was the sister of my ex-wife.

Mr. Carpenter. And was she employed?

Mr. Greene. During the war years, she was employed at Los Alamos, to the best of my knowledge, and I don't know where else she worked other than that.

Mr. Carpenter. Los Alamos is the Atomic Energy Commission

installation?

Mr. Greene. The Atomic Energy Commission installation.

Mr. Carpenter. And did she visit at your home during that period? Mr. Greene. Yes. Very infrequently, but she did visit there.

Mr. Carpenter. Did Mr. William Hinton, the brother of your wife

Jean, visit you from time to time?

Mr. Greene. Very infrequently, but he visited us at that address.

Mr. Carpenter. Did he ever use your home as his address?

Mr. Greene. Not to my knowledge. I have no recollection of it. But he could very well have.

Mr. Carpenter. While you were married to Jean Hinton, was she employed?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. And by whom was she employed?

Mr. Greene. She was employed by the Farm Security Administration of the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. CARPENTER. Was she active in any organizations at the time

she was living with you as your wife?

Mr. Greene. Yes, I believe she was an officer of a union.

Mr. CARPENTER. Was that the United Federal Workers Union, local 1?

Mr. Greene. Yes. sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. Was she also active in the teachers union?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir. After she left the Government employ, I believe.

Mr. CARPENTER. When did she leave the Government?

Mr. Greene. I am not too sure about the date, but I think it was in

1945, sometime in 1945. I am not clear on the date.

Mr. Carpenter. During this period that you were living at Harvard Place, did she associate with various people that she was employed with, and also engage in union activities?

Mr. Greene. I didn't quite get the first part of that question.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did she associate with some of the people that were engaged with her in her work?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. And who were they?

Mr. Greene. Well, there were all kinds of people she associated with. We had a long list of friends from every walk of life, practically.

Mr. CARPENTER. Was she friendly with William Ullmann?

Mr. Greene. She knew him.

Mr. Carpenter. And Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did he visit at your home?

Mr. Greene. I don't recollect his visiting us very frequently. In fact. I would definitely characterize his visits as quite infrequent to

The CHAIRMAN. Did you visit his house?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. How many times did you visit the home of the Silvermasters?

Mr. Greene. I don't recall the exact number, but in the order of 10 times, anyway.

Mr. CARPENTER. In the evening? Or during the day?

Mr. Greene. No, the visits I know of were usually for dinner; that type of visit.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you have occasion to go into the basement of

the Silvermaster home?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you see the photographic apparatus that Silvermaster had?

Mr. Greene. I saw it; yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Was Silvermaster one of the supervisors of your wife while she was employed in the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir. I believe he was over her supervisor.

The Chairman. Senator Welker has a question.

Senator Welker. Mr. Witness, you say you observed some photographic equipment in the basement of the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Senator Welker. I take it that was his home out in Bethesda?

Mr. Greene. No. It was in the District.

Senator Welker. In the District of Columbia.

Now, will you describe for the committee, please, how you got to the

basement, what steps, and so forth?

Mr. Greene. Well, he was designing a saw, an electric saw for sawing wood, and he was building the thing there, and he asked me about some points on how to put it together. And while we were down there, we could see the darkrom—I would describe it as the darkroom that was off to one side of the general part the basement.

Senator Welker. Did you see any enlarger?

Mr. Greene. I saw an enlarger.

Senator Welker. You know what an enlarger is?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir. Senator Welker. Was it a large or small enlarger? Mr. Greene. I would say it was a fairly good sized one.

Senator Welker. And did you see any pans or lights that they used

for processing film?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir, I saw a developing tank, or it looked like it. Senator Welker. What portion of the basement, Mr. Witness, was

Mr. Greene. I would say as you came down it would be toward the

rear. It was all part of the same basement.

Senator Welker. Did you see any film, any exposed film, or ruined film?

Mr. Greene. No, sir.

Senator Welker. Did you see any microfilm at all?

Mr. Greene. No, sir.

Senator Welker. Did you see any camera there?

Mr. Greene. I saw what he described as his portrait camera. That wasn't down in the basement, I believe. It was upstairs.

Senator Welker. That was upstairs. Well, what kind of a por-

trait camera? Did he tell you what it was?

Mr. Greene. It is the kind you look into to see the picture.

Senator Welker. I see. Rather a large one?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Senator Welker. He had no reluctance whatsoever to permit you to go down into the basement?

Mr. Greene. No. He wanted to discuss what he was building. Senator Welker. Did he discuss the photographic equipment with

you at all, what he had it there for, what he was doing with it?

Mr. Greene. Well, no. The way it came out, it seemed perfectly natural. He had portraits all over the house, in the living room, you know. They looked like fairly good workmanship.

Senator Welker. Did your wife go down with you at the time?

Mr. Greene. I don't think so.

Senator Welker, To your knowledge, Mr. Greene, did anybody else go down with you other than yourself and Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. Greene, A friend of mine who did not even know him, who was trying to help him on this saw.

Senator Welker. What year was that, Mr. Greene?

Mr. Greene. This was in 1946 or early 1947.

Mr. CARPENTER. While you were living there, was Martin Popper, attorney for the Chinese Government, a neighbor of yours?

Mr. Greene. He was.

Mr. CARPENTER, Was Jean friendly with him?

Mr. Greene: She was friendly with him to the extent that it seemed to me she was friendly with his wife primarily. The friendship was, it seemed to me, primarily between her and his wife, and through that she knew him, was friendly with him, indirectly.

Mr. CARPENTER. They visited back and forth?

Mr. Greene. Yes; I would say so. Sort of the over-the-fence type of visiting. I think occasionally Mrs. Popper came into the house, and Mr. Popper might have.

Mr. CARPENTER: Did you ever go into their home?

Mr. GREENE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. And were they in your home?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. During this period, were there any people from the Russian Embassy that visited at your home?

Mr. GREENE. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Who were they?

Mr. Greene. They were the successive air attachés, from approximately 1943, very early 1943, to about late 1945, I would guess; and their visits consisted of approximately once a year, maybe in one case twice, but the visits were about once a year.

Mr. CARPENTER. And who were these people? Their names?

Mr. Greene. The first one was Colonel or Major Berezin.

The second one—

Mr. Carpenter. Will you spell that?

Mr. Greene. I will spell it to the best of my ability. B-e-r-e-z-i-n. The second one was a Major or Colonel Aseav, A-s-e-a-v, approximately. The third one was a Major or Colonel Golkovski, G-o-1-k-o-vs-k-i. Those are my guesses. I am not sure of the spellings.

Mr. Carpenter. And those three were all guests at your home?

Mr. Greene. That is right.

Mr. Carpenter. On more than one occasion?

Mr. Greene. I think, to the best of my recollection, Berezin was once, and Golkovski was once, and it is possible that Aseav was twice.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you and your wife, Jean, have occasion to go

to the Russian Embassy?

Mr. Greene. We went there on the occasion of the parties they gave on their anniversary. This was, I would guess, during 1944, 1945, or 1946, possibly 1943. I don't remember that quite clearly.

Mr. Carpenter. And what was the occasion for them visiting in

your home?

Mr. Greene. Well, it was part of a sales activity that I carried on through the people I was employed by, part of the social activity, and more or less a return for their entertaining us. We would entertain them for the particular incident involved.

Mr. Carpenter. Purely a business relationship?

Mr. Greene. My relationship with them was strictly for business. Mr. Carpenter. Did they ever ask you for information relative to

other things than the selling of propellers?

Mr. Greene. Well, they were interested in this private airplane we built, too. But outside of things that I could see as business inquiries, it was mostly on my part, trying to get them.

Mr. Carpenter. Did they know that you were the brother-in-law

of Joan Hinton, the nuclear physicist?

Mr. Greene. No, sir; they never gave any indication of knowing that.

Mr. Carpenter. At no time?

Mr. Greene. No.

Mr. Carpenter. Did he ever visit your home while Joan was there as your guest?

Mr. Greene. No, sir, to the best of my recollection.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you know whether Joan is married now?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir. I only know it by hearsay.

Mr. CARPENTER. To whom?

Mr. Greene. A fellow by the name of Engst.

Mr. CARPENTER. What is his first name?

Mr. Greene. Irwin.1

Mr. Carpenter. And did he ever visit your home during the time you were married to Jean?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. When was that?

Mr. Greene. I think it was in 1946, late 1946, some time around in there, or possibly early 1947.

Mr. CARPENTER. Since your divorce, your wife has remarried? Your former wife, Jean?

Mr. Greene. I have been told that.

Mr. Carpenter. And who has she married?

Mr. Greene. I have been told she married someone by the name of Rosner.

Mr. Carpenter. Did he ever visit your home during your married life?

Mr. Greene. He visited us once, I am sure of, and possibly one time earlier.

Mr. Carpenter. What was the purpose of his visit?

Mr. Greene. I believe—nobody talked to me about it at the time, and least of all did he, but I believe he visited us to come to Washington with a group of people to lobby about some bill. I have no idea what the bill was.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you know a Russell Nixon?

Mr. Greene. Very slightly.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did he visit your home?

Mr. Greene. I have no recollection of his ever visiting our house.

Mr. Carpenter. And on what occasion did you know him?

Mr. Greene. We went on a trip to Nags Head, and he was along on that trip, but we didn't stay with him and his wife. My ex-wife and myself stayed elsewhere.

Mr. Carpenter. At your home during the period you were married to Jean Hinton, did you notice any Communist literature about the

house?

Mr. Greene. Yes, sir. The literature I would describe as that.

Mr. Carpenter. What was the nature of that literature?

Mr. Greene. I saw 2 or 3 or possibly 3 or 4 copies of the Daily Worker.

Mr. Carpenter. Anything else? How about Soviet Russia Today? Mr. Greene. I saw that magazine there.

¹ William Hinton testified that Engst's first name is Sidney.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you somewhat disturbed about the actions of

your wife Jean at that time?

Mr. Greene. Well, of course, we got divorced, and the whole thing was very painful; the incompatibility just sort of built up, and at that point it reached the point where we finally separated and got divorced. When we were originally married, we shared common interests in that she liked to ski, she liked to fly, and she liked to go sailing with me in my sailboat. As time went on, her union activities took more and more of her time and prevented us from sharing our lives together. It finally reached the point where we were completely incompatible.

Mr. CARPENTER. Do you know whether she was a member of the

Communist Party at the time you were married to her?

Mr. Greene. To the best of my knowledge, she was not.

Mr. Carpenter. She never told you she was?

Mr. Greene. No. And she never discussed that with me.

Mr. Carpenter. Did she discuss her union activities with you?

Mr. Greene. The discussion would usually be that she was going to a union. Occasionally she tried to get me into union activities, but I have never belonged to a union and know very little about them.

Mr. Carpenter. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the

Communist Party?

Mr. Greene. I am not, nor have I ever been.

Mr. CARPENTER. At this time I would like to enter into the record if the chairman please, the efficiency report of Jean Hinton, signed by N. Gregory Silvermaster.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go in the record and become part of the

record

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 424" and is as follows:)

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(1) Maintenance of equipment, tools, instruments. (2) Mechanical skill. (3) Skill in the application of techniques and procedures. (4) Presentability of work (appropriateness of arrangement and appearance of work). (5) Attention to broad phases of assignments. (6) Attention to pertinent detail. (7) Accuracy of operations. (9) Accuracy of all results. (9) Accuracy of judgments or decisions. (10) Effectiveness in presenting ideas or facts. (11) Industry. (12) Rate of progress on or completion of assignments. (13) Amount of acceptable work produced. (Is mark Dased on production records? (14) Ability to organize his work. (16) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others. (16) Effectiveness in meeting and dealing with others. (16) Effectiveness. (17) Initiative. (18) Resourcefulness. (19) Pependability. (20) Physical fitness for the work.		
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On the whole, do you consider the conduct of this employee to be satisfactory? Yes (See back of ferm)		
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Rating approved by efficiency rating committee SEP Today C:3		
The CHAIRMAN You may stand by Mr Greene.		

Mr. Greene. Shall I stay in here?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. Hinton, will you come forward, please?

Will you be sworn to testify, sir? Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HINTON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be seated there.

Will you give us your full name?

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. HINTON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MILTON H. FRIEDMAN

Mr. HINTON. William H. Hinton.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside, Mr. Hinton? Mr. Hinton. My permanent residence is Putney, Vt.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is your business or profession?

Mr. Hinton. I have always been in the field of agriculture, as an agriculture technician and farm manager.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in that field now?

Mr. Hinton. At the present time, I am doing some lecturing and speaking.

The Chairman. You are present here with your counsel.

Would you give your name and address for the record, Mr. Counsel? Mr. Friedman. Milton H. Friedman, F-r-i-e-d-m-a-n, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Mr. Carpenter. Where were you born, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. Hinton. I was born in Chicago, Ill., on February 2, 1919.

Mr. Carpenter. Where did you attend school?

Mr. Hinton. Well, I graduated from high school at Putney School, Putney, Vt. I attended Harvard University for 2 years, starting in 1937. I then transferred to Cornell University and graduated from Cornell with a degree in agriculture in 1941.

Mr. Carpenter. Prior to going to school, did you have occasion

to travel in the Far East?

Mr. HINTON. Yes, I did.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you employed in the Far East, in Japan?

Mr. HINTON. Yes, I was.

Mr. Carpenter. What was the nature of your employment?

Mr. Hinton. I worked there as a news reporter on a newspaper called the Japan Advertiser.

Mr. Carpenter. And who was the sponsor of that newspaper?

Mr. Hinton. I never heard of a sponsor.

Mr. Carpenter. Who was your supervisor on that newspaper?

Mr. Hinton. I believe the publisher was a man named B. W. Flasher.

Mr. CARPENTER. What was the name?

Mr. Hinton. B. W. Flasher.

Mr. Carpenter. What year was that?

Mr. Hinton. If I recall correctly, it was in 1937.

Mr. Carpenter. Then you went to college after returning from Japan?

Mr. HINTON. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. And you graduated from Cornell?

Mr. Hinton. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. Where were you employed after leaving Cornell? Mr. Hinton. I was employed as the farm manager at Putney School in Putney, Vt.

Mr. Carpenter. And how long were you in that employment?

Mr. Hinton. Approximately 1 year.

Mr. CARPENTER. Who was your supervisor at the Putney School?

Mr. Hinton. I believe the business manager was my supervisor.

Mr. Carpenter. And when you left that employment, where did you go?

Mr. Hinton. I was drafted, and I was sent to a CBS camp. I was

at that time a conscientious objector.

Mr. Carpenter. A conscientious objectors' camp where?

Mr. HINTON. At Weston, N. H.

Mr. Carpenter. And some time later you left that camp?
Mr. Hinton. I applied for military service and was rejected.

Mr. Carpenter. And how long were you in that camp?

Mr. Hinton. Oh, about a year and a half, I believe, if I remember correctly.

Mr. Carpenter. And then you applied for service and were re-

jected. Then where were you employed?

Mr. Hinton. I returned to my original job at the school and worked as farm manager.

Mr. Carpenter. And how long were you there? Mr. Hinton. Oh, approximately another year.

Mr. Carpenter. And then where were you employed?

Mr. Hinton. Then I got a job with the OWI, and I went out to China.

Mr. Carpenter. To whom did you make application when you joined the OWI?

Mr. Hinton. I don't recall any specific person, sir. I applied for

a job with the OWI and got one.

Mr. Carpenter. And you went to China with the OWI in what year?

Mr. Hinton. I believe it was 1945. Mr. Carpenter. What month?

Mr. Hinton. Well, it was either June or July, or right around there, 1945, that I went out to China.

Mr. Carpenter. What was the nature of your work with the OWI? Mr. Hinton. My title, when I was employed, was propaganda analyst.

Mr. Carpenter. What background did you have for that particular

type of work?

Mr. Hinton. Previous employment as a newspaper reporter in Japan.

Mr. Carpenter. Where did you go in China with the OWI? The Chairman. Let the record show that Senator Hendrickson is in

The Chairman. Let the record show that Senator Hendrickson is in attendance at this session.

Mr. Hinton. I was first sent to Kunming, later to Chungking, and then I worked in the Hankow area, and also—well, I was in Shanghai before I went home. I didn't have any work there.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Welker has a question.

Senator Welker. Mr. Hinton, did you go to China alone, or with someone?

Mr. Hinton. I went alone.

Senator Welker. Was your sister, Joan C. Hinton, there at the time?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. No; she was not.

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness, before responding, conferred with his counsel.

Senator Welker. Did she come later?

Mr. Hinton. Joan Hinton went to China later.

Senator Welker. And you met her there? (Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. She is working now on a dairy farm in the city of Sian.

Senator Welker. I asked you if you met her there?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. On the grounds of the fifth amendment, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Senator Welker. You do not care to tell us whether or not you met

or conversed with your sister on either of the trips to China?

Mr. Hinton. The same answer.

Senator Welker. You claim your privilege on that, Mr. Hinton? Mr. Hinton. The same answer for the same reason.

Senator Welker. Would you care to tell us what your sister was

doing in China, if you know?

The Chairman. Let the record show that before responding, the witness conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. She was working on a dairy farm.

Senator Welker. She worked on a dairy farm all the time?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness conferred with his counsel before responding to the question.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. On what grounds, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. On the grounds of the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. That your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator Welker. Mr. Hinton, are you familiar with a magazine called People's China, published September 16, 1951, in Peking, China, in which Joan Hinton wrote an article entitled, "Why China Wants Peace"?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds. Look, Senator. I got a letter from your committee inviting me to come here to talk about my experiences in China, and I have prepared to do that. I should like to have a chance to read my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. How long is your statement, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. Hinton. It will take maybe 10 minutes to read.

Senator Welker. I would like, Mr. Chairman, to finish my questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to give you that courtesy, Mr. Hinton.

Senator Welker?

Senator Welker. You did know, however, that your sister was a young American scientist formerly employed at Los Alamos? And then I think she went into Chicago?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

The Chairman. Mr. Hinton, when you are asked a question by any member of this committee or counsel, it is perfectly all right for you to consult your counsel before you reply, but please, Mr. Friedman, let the witness make his own answer.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I take it, Senator, it has not been suggested that I

haven't followed that procedure, has it?

The Chairman. I notice that the witness turns to you sometimes before the question is fully stated, and you converse. I would like for the question to be stated, and if he wants any advice from you, it is perfectly agreeable with this committee that he confer with you, and that is our procedure.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I know.

The CHAIRMAN. But please let the witness testify, and not you.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Of course.

Senator Welker. You knew your sister to be a member of the Federation of American Scientists, did you not?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same ground.

The CHAIRMAN. And if the testimony is produced here at this hearing or subsequent hearings showing that your sister was an eminent scientist studying in the atomic field, it is your testimony now that she is milking cows over in China. Is that correct? Or working at a dairy, I think you stated.

Mr. Hinton. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What is she doing at that dairy?

Mr. Hinton. She is working there, helping with the dairy farm, with the production of milk.

The CHAIRMAN. Common labor?

Mr. Hinton. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What type of work, Mr. Hinton, if you know?

Mr. Hinton. I am not aware of her exact duties there.

Senator Welker. General duties, I take it, around a dairy farm.

Mr. Hinton. Correct.

Senator Welker. And she is not engaged in any scientific research at the dairy farm?

The CHAIRMAN. You may consult your counsel.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. No; she is not engaged in any such work.

Senator Welker. Mr. Chairman, at this time, as part of my cross-examination, I would like to ask you to admit, by reference, into evidence a magazine called People's China, volume 4, published in Peking, Why China Wants Peace; and as the second exhibit, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask you to introduce by reference a reprint of that article which was printed January 1952 in a magazine called New World, published at 114 East 32d Street, New York 16, N. Y.

The Chairman. Both of these articles will go into our record by

reference only.

Proceed, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter. We were speaking of the OWI in China. Mr. Hinton. Could I have an opportunity to read this?

The Chairman. The practice of our committee is that you may submit the article, and we will determine whether or not it should go into the record. We have a regulation, you see, that any prepared statement will be presented 24 hours before the hearing.

Will you pass the statement up, so that we may examine it?

Mr. HINTON. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. We will proceed with the questioning while the staff examines your statement, and then we will make a determination on whether or not it will go in the record.

Mr. Carpenter. You arrived in China in June or July of 1945?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness is conferring with his counsel before responding to the question of our counsel.

Mr. Hinton. Mr. Chairman, may I say, sir, that I was questioned for an hour and a half in executive session this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. I beg your pardon? I didn't hear.

Mr. Hinton. I was questioned for about an hour and a half in executive session this morning and have had no chance to give any information about China, to give my experiences in China, and I would like to have a chance to read the statement, if I can.

The Chairman. We will pass upon that, Mr. Hinton. I am asking

the staff to pass upon it now.

Senator Hendrickson. I would like to suggest that the witness was given an opportunity to present the statement this morning, but it was felt that since he was going to publish the statement anyway, it was better that he offer it in open session rather than in executive session. I just wanted to correct Mr. Hinton's statement that he was not given an opportunity to present the statement.

Mr. CARPENTER. When did you arrive in China and go to work for

ne OWI?

Mr. Hinton. Well, I think that is the question we just had, there. It was either in late June or early July. I don't remember just the date.

Mr. CARPENTER. And what was the nature of that work?

Mr. Hinton. I was employed as—my title at the time was propaganda analyst, if I remember correctly.

Mr. CARPENTER. And what was the exact work you did there, in

China?

Mr. Hinton. It was the analysis of Japanese propaganda and the writing of a weekly summary of all the things which the Japanese were saying at the time. And I turned this over to my superiors.

Mr. Carpenter. And who were your superiors?

Mr. Hinton. Well, I don't recall who was my immediate superior, but a Mr. Stewart, I believe, was in charge of the work there at the Kunming station.

Mr. CARPENTER. And were you there when the war ended?

Mr. Hinton. I believe I was, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. And you did work after the war ended?

Mr. Hinton. Yes; I worked for a few more months after the war ended.

Mr. Carpenter. What was the nature of that work?

Mr. Hinton. Well, I helped to finish off the work of the United Nations Picture News Office, which was an OWI project. I helped to wind up that work. I took a mobile movie showing team through some of the provinces. And I believe that is the two jobs I had after the war ended.

Mr. Carpenter. Then you returned to the United States?

Mr. Hinton. Soon after that, yes.

Mr. CARPENTER. And were released from OWI?

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. And then where did you go?

Mr. Hinton. After the OWI, I worked for a number of months as an organizer for the Farmers Union, northeastern division.

Mr. CARPENTER. And what year was that, and month?

Mr. HINTON. Well, that was in the summer and fall, if I recall correctly, of 1946.

Mr. Carpenter. The summer and fall of 1946. Was that the northeastern division of the Farmers Union?

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. And who was the president of that northeastern division at that time?

Mr. Hinton. Mr. Archie Wright.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you know Archie Wright as a Communist?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you have instructions from the Communist Party to seek employment with the Farmers Union?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you report to the Communist Party in connection with your relations with the Farmers Union?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. Are you a member of the Communist Party? Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were in Japan in 1937, working on the Japanese Advertiser?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds, and I want to say right here that I think that the committee is very improper to ask any questions of this kind. I believe that it is an invasion of the rights of a citizen for a question of this kind to be asked, particularly as I was called here to talk about my experiences in China.

The Chairman. Mr. Hinton, you must realize that the Communist conspiracy is a conspiracy to overthrow and destroy this Government by force and violence. We, being a duly constituted committee of the United States Senate, feel that we have a responsibility to this Nation. We think it is a very proper question. Now, you have your rights under the Constitution not to answer, under the fifth amendment, and you have exercised that right. We want to extend to you every courtesy. But we do not want you to argue with this committee on what its duties are and what they are not.

Now, you seem to be disturbed about your statement.

Mr. Hinton, the reason why the committee requires that statements be submitted 24 hours before a witness testifies is because we have certain people who come in here who exercise the privilege of the fifth amendment with long statements that are not relevant to anything this committee is interested in. The staff has examined your statement, and we think it is a proper statement, and if it will make you feel any better, you may proceed at this time to read your statement.

Mr. Hinton. Thank you.

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I am here pursuant to your letter of June 18 which reads in part:

Having learned that you have just returned from a stay in the Far East, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee would like to have the opportunity to interview you and get the benefit of your experience.

The letter also included a subpena.

In order to facilitate the interview I have prepared a short summary

of my experiences.

In drawing up this statement I have been handicapped by the fact that all of my notes, diaries, correspondence, and background material on China were seized by the United States customs when I returned to the United States last August——

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt right there, Mr. Hinton?

Why were they seized?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness before responding conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I would like to know that myself.

The Chairman. Did you ask anyone why the records were taken from you?

Mr. Hinton. Did I ask? I certainly did. The Chairman. What did they tell you? (Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness conferred with his attorney before he responded to the simple question.

with his attorney before he responded to the simple question.

Mr. Hinton. They said it was the importation of foreign assets originating in China. But I can't see how my own notes and diaries and so on could possibly come under foreign assets.

The CHAIRMAN. I cannot either, Mr. Hinton. I think if that is the fact, if they just took your notes and research work you had been doing, you have been wronged. Have you pursued this matter? Have you taken any action of any kind?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness, before re-

sponding, conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. Yes, I have pursued it. I have followed up every step they have told me to do, but up to this point have not received any encouragement that I should get my materials back.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator Welker. Where were your notes and diaries, and so forth, seized? At what customs office?

Mr. HINTON. At Newport, Vt. Senator Welker. By whom?

Mr. HINTON. The United States Customs Service.

Senator Welker. Where did you land in the United States?

Mr. Hinton. Where did I land?

Senator Welker. Yes.

Mr. HINTON. I landed in Quebec.

Senator Welker. In Quebec? Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Senator Welker. By air, I suppose?

Mr. HINTON. No, by ship.

Senator Welker. You had no trouble getting over to Vermont with your notes, but you did have some difficulty with the customs agent there. He took your notes?

Mr. Hinton. The customs at Newport, Vt.

Senator Welker. Did he say anything to you about your notes having Communist literature and propaganda in them?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness, before responding, conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. Yes, he said something along those lines, but he didn't make any specific accusation about the notes. They just took them.

Senator Welker. He said something along those lines. Did you argue with him about that?

Mr. HINTON. No, I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You may proceed with the reading of your statement, Mr. Hinton.

Mr. Hinton. Were seized by the United States Customs when I returned to the United States last August and are still held by them in

flagrant violation of my rights as an American citizen.

I went out to China in 1947, originally as a member of the Church of the Brethern Service Commission Tractor Unit, a part of the UNRRA relief program. I spent the years from 1947 through 1953 on the Chinese mainland working chiefly in the field of agriculture. I trained students in the operation and care of tractors and combines, and in the care and feeding of dairy cattle.

My qualifications for such work consist of a degree in agriculture from Cornell University, obtained after 2 years' study at Harvard University, and later a number of years spent as manager of dairy

and general farms in Vermont and New Hampshire.

In China I worked in both Nationalist and Communist led areas. I traveled widely, from Harbin to Lanchow, and from Chahar to Central Honan—east and west 2,000 miles, north and south, 1,000 miles. I saw conditions in the countryside and in the cities, on farms and in factories. I learned to speak and read the language. I talked with thousands of Chinese from all walks of life and from all parts

of the country.

When I first went out in 1947 I spent 6 months in Nationalist-held territory. Although Chiang's armies—fully equipped and supplied by us, that is, the United States—were on the offensive, there was an atmosphere of fear and defeatism wherever they held control. Jittery armed guards stopped everyone on the roads. They forced peasants to throw up high embankments around every little settlement. Our tractor work was carried on with great difficulty. Valuable parts and tools were stolen. We had to protect relief property from the guards assigned to watch it. Many of those sent to study had no intention of becoming tractor drivers. They were looking forward to easy jobs in administrative offices.

The results of our work were disappointing. The land we plowed in Suiyuan belonged to the largest landowners whose warehouses were already heaped with grain while ordinary folk went hungry. The week I arrived there grain riots broke out when local speculators attempted to ship grain to the coastal cities. The riots were suppressed with arrests and executions. In such a situation it was hard

to see how the hungry could benefit from tractors. Also the authorities regarded the tractors as valuable speculative property rather

than as potential food-producing equipment.

In July I was sent across the lines into the Communist-led area of South Hopei. This was a region held by the peasants against Japanese invading armies for 8 long years. They had fought back from a network of underground tunnels dug by hand. In South Hopei I found life close to normal although the region was completely surrounded by hostile armies and the only supplies they had were those captured in battle. Few guards were in evidence. Walls were being leveled. Evidently the authorities trusted the people. Grain was scarce because of severe drought, but the people were all out in the fields replanting with seed supplied by the government. The tractors sent in by UNRRA were used to haul water for the aged and widows. Most of the government personnel were out in the fields helping with the work.

The local government regarded tractors as very important for the future. For a while tractor plowing was abandoned because of lack of fuel, but as soon as gasoline became available the work started again, even though the war was still going on. By that time UNRRA had withdrawn and the project was supported wholly by local funds. I stayed on at the request of the local Chinese, because they had no one else who understood tractors. I wanted to continue, and if possible, complete the work I had started.

The students were mostly poor peasants. Many told me how they had lived on bark and leaves during the famine years. Most had been active in the war against Japan. One was the leader of his local militia at the age of 15. Others had fought in the famous Eighth Route Army. They always expected me to eat dried persimmons, for, they said, that's what the American flyers they had rescued like

the best.

In the first class there were only three girls. Later women made up almost one-third of the student body. For them it was a great opportunity. Village women in North China had traditionally been confined to the home and had been bought and sold like chattels. One of my students had been a slave girl in a landlord's home until the People's Liberation Army came.

Classes were held outdoors. The students sat on stones or bricks. The blackboard was propped on a tractor. It was so cold in winter that we had to call a break every 20 minutes so everyone could blow on their fingers. Yet no one complained. They knew they were

pioneering in a field very important to China.

I lived in a mud village under the same conditions as the Chinese staff and students. All were on subsistence, which included food, clothes, and 50 cents a month for spending money. The food was chiefly millet, noodles, cabbage, and salt turnip. I slept on a brick platform. In winter straw was burned under it to give a little warmth.

I lived in a courtyard that had once belonged to a landlord. He lived next door. His land had been divided among his tenants. He was not happy about it. Every day he went out, with a very long face, to work on the plot that was left to him. But for every frown of his the peasants smiled twice. They were independent landowners now. They paid no rents. Their debts had been canceled. Life was still hard—they had but half an acre per capita—but they owned

land free and clear and were optimistic about the future. Their taxes amounted to about 15 percent of their crops. Prices were stable, credit cheap. Interest rates on loans had been reduced from 30

percent a month to 2 or 3 percent a year.

A lot of families joined together in mutual aid teams, a kind of work exchange. Hardly anyone worked alone in the fields any more. I asked what they liked about the new method. "When we work together the day goes much faster, and we get more done, too," was the answer. The results showed up in their standard of living. Beggars and rags were a rare sight when I left China, although very common in 1947 when I arrived.

While in the village I saw many meetings. Everyone but the exlandlords had voting rights. The people elected their village council by secret ballot. All major decisions were discussed until agreement was reached. Once a hailstorm damaged the wheat crop. The county reduced taxes two-thirds. Then the neighbors met to decide how much each family could pay. Everyone seemed satisfied in the end.

In 1949 the center of all tractor work moved to a farm outside Peiping. I went along to teach tractor maintenance and combine operation. Students trained there went out to tackle wasteland in many provinces. By 1953 the students had opened up over 500,000 acres of new land. Altogether China is reported to have close to 300 million acres of potentially fertile land lying idle. I traveled to many of the new farms. During the years from 1949 to 1953 most of them lost money because of the high price of fuel and machinery, but scientific methods produced excellent yields. The mechanized farms often outyielded the local peasants' plots by 100 percent.

Those in charge of the farms were confident that as costs went down mechanization would come into its own. In a few years the price of kerosene fell from over \$2 a gallon to less than \$1. At the same time wages went up. At one 10,000-acre rice farm near Tientsin several thousand peasants were hired to do the weeding the first

year

The second year more money was offered but fewer showed up. The third year the farm gave up hiring seasonal labor altogether. Peasants were busy with their own farms. Industrial and transport jobs were opening up and there were few casual laborers available.

Life on the large farms was akin to factory life. The farms were run by managers aided by salaried technicians. Tractor drivers and fieldworkers were paid according to the work they did. Housing was provided free for everyone as were medical care, schooling for the children, and recreational facilities. Every farm had its amateur drama group. Saturday nights were always lively with plays, movies,

or dances on the agenda.

Most of the farmworkers studied in their spare time. The technicians gave elementary courses in the evenings for all those who had never had a chance to go to school. Most began with reading. An army language teacher in South China invented a teaching method based on the use of a phonetic alphabet. This soon spread to the whole country. I joined one of the classes but couldn't keep up. My classmates were learning up to 100 characters a day. Songs enlivened the course and helped the students to memorize phoenetic sounds.

The hit tunes of China when I left were the alphabet songs. One

heard them everywhere.

Inadequate technical knowledge was the biggest problem the farms had to face. To overcome this, hundreds of young workers were sent to technical courses every year. Six-month, 2-year, and 4-year courses were offered.

Other stumbling blocks were bureaucratic management and a certain amount of graft. To fight against these, every staff member was periodically obliged to account for his work to those who worked with, or under him. The first few months of 1952 were given over almost completely to an intensive campaign against graft and corruption with remarkable success. Chinese public opinion no longer tolerates what was once winked at as a clever method of caring for one's parents.

As production on the land and in industry increased, living standards improved. Starting in 1950 when I went on salary, I earned close to \$75 monthly. Since my food, which by that time included rice, white flour, eggs and meat, cost me only \$8 per month, I was well

off.

Whenever I went shopping I found the stores crowded with buyers and heavily stocked with goods; almost all China-made. The American embargo, though bitterly resented in China, was not effective as far as I could see. It served only to stimulate Chinese manufacturing, both private and public, and to increase imports from other countries. Textiles, rubber shoes, flashlights, thermos flasks, and bicycles, were among the most popular homemade items, while imported Swiss watches tempted many a farmworker. Many of my students paid as

much as \$30 apiece for them.

In the field of hard goods, imports bulked larger each year. British cars, Czech buses, and Soviet tractors were all common sights. The buses on Peiping's streets increased from a few dozen to over 1,200 in a few years time. The Chinese also imported huge quantities of machine tools. In my travels here at home I have found that it is just in these lines that lack of orders is creating unemployment in many towns. Our workers are on the streets while Britain, France, West Germany, and Japan move in to supply what may well be the fastest

I would not say that the Chinese are panting to buy from us, but certainly on a competitive basis we could do as well as the next fellow

if only the embargo were lifted.

growing market in the world.

During all those years of close association with all sorts of people I never met anyone, except for an occasional ex-landowner, who longed for Chiang's return. The people I knew and worked with were proud of the progress being made under the new government and gave it their wholehearted support. They did not consider it a one-party state, but a real coalition of many parties in which Sun Yat Sen's widow, Soong Ching-ling, former Nationalist Gen. Li Chi Shen, democratic lawyer Chang Lan, and the Communist leader, Mao Tsetung, have joined together to carry through land reform, build industry, and wipe out illiteracy.

These people I met were both puzzled and incensed at American policy—especially our support of Chiang and our drive across the 38th parallel in Korea. Chiang is thought of in China today much

as George III must have been regarded in America after the Revolutionary War. And our intervention in Korea is looked on very much as we would look on Chinese armies driving on the Rio Grande.

Always I found people, even total strangers, friendly to me, an American. They wanted to know all about Lin Kun (Lincoln) "who freed the slaves" and Lwo Sz Fu (Roosevelt) "who wanted one world."

Chinese from different walks of life told me again and again that they only wanted to be left alone to get on with the work of building up their country. I feel certain that that desire is sincere and that no government can hope to lead the Chinese into aggressive adventures abroad.

It seems to me we shall have to learn to live in peace with the 600 million friendly people over there. We can only gain thereby.

The Chairman. You say the people over there were puzzled and incensed at our drive across the 38th parallel in Korea?

Mr. HINTON, Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were were not puzzled and incensed about their drive when they broke over the 38th parallel and headed south, were thev?

Mr. HINTON. I was speaking of the Chinese people.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they think about the Koreans?

Mr. Hinton. That was regarded as an internal question in Korea. The CHAIRMAN. And the Chinese went in to help the internal situation?

Mr. Hinton. After our armies came northward toward their borders, they became very concerned, in China.

The Chairman. All right. Proceed with the questioning.

Senator Welker. May I ask a question?

The Chairman. Yes.

Senator Welker. Mr. Hinton, I note that you were in China when the land reform took place, when the landowners were cut off from their vast acreage and the peasants were given small tracts of land.

Mr. HINTON. Yes; I was in China.

Senator Welker. You go at length into that subject in your state-Did you have anything to do with promotion of the land reform there?

Mr. Hinton. I saw it. I observed it.

Senator Welker. Did you have anything to do with it? Did you speak in behalf of the land reform?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness, before responding to the question, consults with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I believe my opinions and the expression of my opinions are covered by the first amendment and it is not proper for

questions about that to be asked by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hinton, this committee does not recognize your right to refuse to answer that question under the first amendment to the Constitution, so I am going to direct that you answer the question.

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator Welker. I notice that in your statement you say:

In July I was sent across the lines into the Communist led area of South Hopei.

Who sent you across?

Mr. Hinton. My superiors in the United Nations Relief program. Senator Welker. And you were receiving pay from the United Nations at that time?

Mr. Hinton. Well, our unit was a volunteer unit. Our pay was actually, we were on subsistence. This Brethren Service Unit was on subsistence.

Senator Welker. I see. You went over there, though, at the direction of your United Nations superior?

Mr. Hinton. That is correct.

Senator Welker. And you went over there without pay, merely on subsistence?

Mr. Hinton. Yes, sir.

Senator Welker. And you found things over there to your satisfaction, I take it, as you have stated in your statement, at page 2 in the second paragraph?

Mr. Hinton. I found conditions there better than in the other

Senator Welker. You found the peasants happy; there were few guards; and they were hard at work, and they wanted to develop their country. Now, this area, there isn't any question about it, was under Communist control at the time you went there?

Mr. Hinton. It was a coalition government which included Com-

munists as well as other parties.

Senator Welker. Well, it was dominated by the Communist Party; was it not?

Mr. Hinton. They are regarded in China as the leading party. Senator Welker. Well, of course. You say so in the second paragraph on page 2. It was a "Communist-led area."
Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Senator Welker. Now, after "UNRRA had withdrawn and the project was supported wholly by local funds," quoting wholly from your statement, I would like you to tell me what group furnished the local funds.

Mr. Hinton. It was known as the Chin Chi Luy-yu Border Region

Senator Welker. Now, will you tell us a little more about that?

That was the Communist Party; was it not?

Mr. Hinton. Chin Chi Lu-yu is the name of the area. It is the name of four provinces, actually. And this government was originally established during the Japanese occupation of North China as a border region, which the Japanese never succeeded in conquering.

Senator Welker. Now, the Communist Party actually laid the

money on the line, though, did they not?

Mr. Hinton. I was paid by the Border Region Government.

Senator Welker. I do not care who you were paid by. As a matter of fact, you know, Mr. Hinton, that the Communist Party furnished the money to whoever gave it to you. Is that not correct?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. Of course, that is not correct. That was a government, the established government of that region. It had its own taxation, its own budget, its own government setup, bureaus, and program, and this government was the established government of that area.

Senator Welker. And it was led by the Communist Party?

Mr. Hinton. The Communist Party was the leading party in the area. The government was a coalition government of a number of parties.

Senator Welker. It was led by the Communist Party. We are not

going to argue about that. On page 2, you so state.

Mr. Hinton. I agree with you that the Communists were the most

important party there.

Senator Welker. And when this little slave girl was given her freedom after having worked in that landlord's home, when the liberation army came, that was, as we know it, the Communist Army. Is that correct?

Mr. Hinton. Well, it has gone under a number of names. It was originally, I believed, called the Red Army, and then it was called the Eighth Route Army, and in recent years it has been called the People's Liberation Army.

The CHAIRMAN. And by some Americans it has been called the

Agrarian Reformers?

Mr. Hinton. I don't believe by Americans they have ever been designated as that. The army?

The CHAIRMAN. No, the movement. Mr. Hinton. What movement?

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You ought to know.

Senator Welker. Now, everyone there had voting rights except the ex-landlords; is that not correct, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. That is correct; yes.

Senator Welker. And I take it you were satisfied with everything you saw in the movement in the Communist-led area that you testified about?

Mr. Hinton. Oh, I found things to criticize, and I found things that

were such that I was quite happy with them.

Senator Welker. You were happy with the reduction of taxes. You were happy with the free medical services and government-controlled schools. You have so stated that in your statement, have you not?

Mr. Hinton. I thought that was a program beneficial to the

Chinese.

Senator Welker. And you were happy with the free housing furnished them, too.

Mr. Hinton. I felt that was a good program.

Senator Welker. Now, when your salary went up to \$75 a month, who paid for that?

Mr. HINTON. At that time I was employed at the Suan Chow State

Farm, and they paid my salary.

Senator Welker. And who operated and controlled that farm?

Mr. Hinton. The farm was under the administration of what they called the State Farm Management Bureau of the Central Government.

Senator Welker. And that would be the Communist government? Mr. Hinton. Well, there again, it is a coalition government. Senator Welker. Yes, but it is led by the Communist Party.

Mr. Hinton. It is a coalition government of the People's Republic of China.

Senator Welker. But as you said, it is led by the Communist Party

of China.

Mr. Hinton. The Communist Party is the leading party in China. The government itself is a coalition made up of elected representatives and is an established government, as we find in many other countries.

Senator Welker. Now, I have just a couple of other questions. You witnessed there British cars, Czech buses, Soviet tractors, and so forth, and you also stated that these people imported large quantities, huge quantities, of machine tools. Could you tell the committee where they imported them from?

Mr. Hinton. Well, among other places, they bought machine tools from West Germany, and they also bought them from Hungary,

Czechoslovakia, Russia, and I believe from other countries, too.

Senator Welker. Now, a closing question I have, Mr. Hinton, is this: I note that you state in your statement that people were puzzled and incensed at the American policy in Korea. And I am led to believe from that, that generally speaking they did not care very much for Americans. But they did like you. Can you tell us why they liked you and hated the Americans generally?

Mr. Hinton. It was American policy in regard to China which they

Mr. Hinton. It was American policy in regard to China which they were opposed to. But in general they were friendly to Americans, and particularly to technicians who were engaged in technical work.

Schator Welker. And you cooperated with them in every detail. You helped them, taught them as best you could. You worked with them, and you received pay from them.

Mr. Hinton. I tried to teach to the best of my knowledge the use of tractors and mechanized farm equipment, because I believe that every country deserves help in improving their food situation, their situation as to growing food. I think lack of food is one of the big problems in our world today, one of the biggest things making for unrest and perhaps a cause of war in the world. I think if everyone were well fed, we would have a much better and happier world.

Senator Welker. And you will not argue with me that you were quite popular there in the region in which you worked and in the

duties which you performed.

Mr. Hinton. I was always treated with courtesy and friendliness. Senator Welker. And these people advocated one world government?

Mr. Hinton. No; I didn't hear them advocating one world gov-

ernment

Senator Welker. Well, they asked you questions about Roosevelt, who wanted one world. What did you assume they were meaning then?

Mr. Hinton. Well, it was the type of world friendship which Willkie wrote in his book, One World, and which Roosevelt was identified with.

Senator Welker. And did you agree with them and think that was a proper philosophy?

Mr. Hinton. That all nations should live in peace together.

Senator Welker. I am speaking about one world. I would be very happy to join in a movement that all nations could never have war.

I don't know anyone who wants war. But do you advocate this one world philosophy they talked to you about?

Mr. Hinton. As I understood it, it was ideas similar to those

Wendell Willkie wrote about in his book.

Senator Welker. They seemed to be well educated about what Mr. Willkie wrote in his book, One World.

Mr. Hinton. They knew it as from Roosevelt.

Senator Welker. But you did not mention Willkie in your statement. You mentioned former President Roosevelt.

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Senator Welker. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. Carpenter. You say you traveled considerably there in northern China, from east to west, and north and south.

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. And that was during the period the Korean war was going on; is that right?

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you see American prisoners of war while you were in that section of China?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness conferred with his counsel before responding to that question.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the same ground

as stated before.

The CHAIRMAN. On the ground of the fifth amendment?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Mr. Carpenter. Did you have occasion to interrogate any Ameri-

can prisoners of war while you were in China?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the same ground. Senator Welker, Mr. Hinton, do you mean to say that you, as an American, being over in this country, having had an opportunity to see one of our own boys who was a prisoner of war, feel, having been asked the question whether you talked to him or saw him, that if you should answer that it might tend to incriminate you if you told the truth?

The CHAIRMAN. How could it, Mr. Hinton?

You may consult with your counsel. (Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. Just now I claimed the fifth amendment on that question, because it seemed to me we were getting into an area of linking me with Americans who have been under attack. thinking this over, I would rather answer that question.

The Chairman. All right. Proceed.

Mr. Hinton. I saw no American prisoners in China.

The CHAIRMAN. You saw none at all?

Mr. Hinton, No.

Senator Welker. I do not quite understand why you refused to answer counsel's question, if you saw none. You took the fifth amendment. Maybe I misunderstood you. Can you explain that to me, why you refused to answer on your privilege of the fifth amendment, when now you tell us you never saw any American prisoners?

Mr. Hinton. Well, there was an attempt this morning in the executive session to bring in the names of many Americans in China, and I saw a possibility of such a thing here.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hinton, maybe we can get at it this way. Did you see other Americans there in that area that had seen American

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness, before responding, conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that.

The Chairman. You decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment; that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you have any contact with Wilfred Burchett? The CHAIRMAN. Do you know him?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

The Chairman. Have you ever met him?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever talk to him?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever received any communication from him of any kind?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds. Mr. Carpenter. Are you married, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. To whom are you married?

Mr. HINTON. My wife's name is Bertha Hinton. Mr. Carpenter. And when were you married?

Mr. Hinton. Nineteen hundred forty-five.

Mr. Carpenter. How many children do you have?

Mr. Hinton. I have one daughter.

Mr. Carpenter. Where is your wife and child now?

Mr. Hinton. Well, the last time I saw them, they were in Peking.

Mr. Carpenter. When was the last time you saw them?

Mr. Hinton. I haven't seem them since I have been back in America. It has been almost a year.

Mr. Carpenter. Almost a year. You left them in Peking?

Mr. Hinton. To the best of my knowledge, they are in Peking. The Chairman. Why do you say "the best of my knowledge"? Don't you know where your wife and daughter are?

Mr. Hinton. Well, I have been away a year. The CHAIRMAN. Don't you hear from them? (Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness confers with his counsel before responding to that question.

Mr. Hinton. This is a personal question, which involves my marital relations, and I don't think that this is pertinent to this.

The Chairman. We are certainly not trying to probe your marital relations, but certainly if you asked any American where his wife was he could surely answer.

Mr. Hinton. Well, I answered it to the best of my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN, You said to the best of your knowledge she was in that area. Don't you know where your wife and daughter are?

Mr. Hinton. To the best of my knowledge, that is where she is:

The CHAIRMAN. Do you hear from them?

Mr. Hinton. Again, I think that is a personal question, sir.

The Chairman. Are they under duress? Are they being detained by the Communist Government in China? Do you know that?

Mr. Hinton. I have no knowledge of it. (Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are they serving, Mr. Hinton, as a hostage for your return to that country? If so, we don't, as a committee, want to put you or your family in that kind of jeopardy.

Mr. Hinton. You are suggesting that the people over there hold

hostages?

The Chairman. No; I asked you the question.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. There is no such thing as hostages being held in China that I ever heard of.

The Chairman. There is no such thing. All right. Proceed. Mr. Carpenter. You were employed by a branch of the Communist government as we know it?

Mr. Hinton. A branch of the People's Republic of China.

Mr. Carpenter. A foreign government. Mr. Hinton. The Government of China.

Mr. Carpenter. What have you been doing since you returned to the States?

Mr. Hinton. Well, I have been giving a series of lectures on my

experiences in China.

The CHAIRMAN. On your own, Mr. Hinton? Or are you working for some organization?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness confers with his counsel before he responds to the question.

Mr. Hinton. Yes; I am lecturing on my own as a free lance lec-

turer to any audience that cares to hear.

Senator Welker. Do you receive pay for that, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. Hinton. Sometimes. I usually do ask for remuneration; yes. Senator Welker. Would you be kind enough to give us the names of some of the organizations who sponsor you and pay for your appearances?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness, before re-

sponding, confers with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I think that here again it is an invasion of my rights under the first amendment, and that freedom of speech and press is the right of every American citizen, and it certainly can be no concern of this committee where or to whom I have given talks.

Senator Welker. I am not trying to prevent you from giving beeches. Heavens above, I merely asked you if you would be kind enough to give us the names of some of the people who have been

favored by your knowledge.

Mr. Hinton. I can't see what legislative purpose that could serve. Senator Welker. That may not appear very bright to you, but if you will let me do the examining, and you do the answering, I am sure we will get along better. The chairman will overrule me if I am wrong, I am sure.

Mr. Hinton. Well, I believe that is certainly a violation of the

first amendment.

Senator Welker. May I ask you: Have you made any speeches to the American Legion? Or the Daughters of the American Revolution? Or the Veterans of Foreign Wars?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I would certainly be happy to speak to the American Legion, if I were invited to do so.

Senator Welker. I asked you: Have you made any speeches to any

of those organizations?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Same record, Mr. Reporter. The witness conferred with his counsel before responding to the question.

Mr. Hinton. In regard to these organizations to which I have spoken, I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator Welker. Do you think if you told us, a committee of Congress, the names of the organization that you addressed, sometimes for pay, sometimes without it, I take it, if you gave us a truthful answer as to the names of those organizations, it might tend to incrimi-

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. That is my statement.

Senator Hendrickson. Have you made any addresses in churches or other institutions of that character?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter. The witness confers with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same ground.

The CHAIRMAN. The ground of the fifth amendment, that your answer might tend to incriminate you. All right.

Proceed.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you address the 13th Annual Institute of International Relations on March 19, 1954?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.) The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter. Mr. Hinton. I believe that was the name.

Mr. Carpenter. This was under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa.?

Mr. Hinton. That is where I spoke, yes.

Mr. Carpenter. You made an address there?
Mr. Chairman, I would like to have this notification of his speech, which was held in Pittsburgh, made a part of the record.

The Chairman. It may go in the record and become a part of it. (The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 425" and is as follows:)

Ехнівіт No. 425

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, PITTSBURGH, PA.

(On Fifth Avenue about 1 mile east of the Cathedral of Learning)

FACILLTY

Sid Lens: Director United Service Employees Union, Local 329 AFL. Just returned from a 10-month trip spent in 22 countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Leonard Bertsch: Lawyer; businessman. Spent 1945-48 in Korea as a political analyst and adviser to General Hodge.

Michel Mouskhely: Professor of political science, University of Strasbourg. Visiting lecturer at Harvard, Boston, Johns Hopkins, Vanderbilt, and Fisk Universities. A. J. Muste: Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Author

of Not by Might. Channing Liem: Professor of political science at Pennsylvania College for

James T. C. Liu: Assistant professor of history, University of Pittsburgh. William H. Hinton: Recently returned from several years' work in Communist China.

GENERAL THEME: CONFLICT OF INTERESTS IN ASIA

Moderator: Richard McCov

Friday, March 19, 1954:

7-7:45 p. m.: Registration in the lobby of the chapel.

8 p. m.: Address and forum, The Declaration of Independence in Asia, Sid Lens. Brief comments by: Leonard Bertsch, Michel Mouskhely, A. J. Muste, Channing Liem, James T. C. Liu, William H. Hinton. (All main sessions will be held in the chapel.)

Saturday, March 20, 1954:

10 a. m.: Asia Looks Ahead, symposium with Channing Liem, James T. C. Liu, and William H. Hinton.

11:30 a.m.: Seminars. Institute members will divide into small groups with faculty as resource leaders.

1 p. m.: Luncheon: What American Policy in Asia Will Best Serve the People of the World?-Leonard Bertsch.

3-4 p. m.: Seminars as in the morning.

6 p. m.: Dinner.

8 p. m.: Address and forum, Necessary Conditions for Peace in Asia, Michel Mouskhely. Followed by comments of faculty.

Sunday, March 21, 1954: 10 a. m.: Information Please session with faculty as panel of experts.

11:30 a.m.: Meeting for worship with Pittsburgh Friends.

1 p. m.: Dinner, Asia's Challenge-America's Opportunity, A. J. Muste.

COSTS

Program and registration fee, including luncheon and dinner on Saturday, and dinner on Sunday, \$6; students, \$4.50. Program and registration fee without meals, \$3; students, \$1. Admission to single session, 75 cents; students 50 cents. Single luncheon on Saturday, \$1; dinner, \$1.50; Sunday dinner, \$1.75.

Requests for overnight hospitality without charge for college students should be sent not later than March 15, to George F. Parker, chaplain, Pennsylvania College for Women.

Registrations and meal reservations should be sent to: Mrs. Janet Shugart, 5742 Darlington Road, Pittsburgh 17. Phone: Jackson 1-7377.

The Chairman. Senator Welker?

Senator Welker. Since the witness has now opened up certain subject matter and has given us the name of one such organization, I will ask the witness, if he can, to give the names of all the other groups and organizations he has addressed; since he has opened up the subject matter here, without claiming his privilege, and I believe it is the law that we are entitled to know now all the groups and organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a proper question, Mr. Hinton. You

will respond.

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. I order and direct that you respond to the question.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. On advice of counsel, I respectfully adhere to my

previous answer.

Senator Welker. I would like to call to the Chair's attention that the fifth amendment is a personal privilege to be enjoyed, and it is not to be so advised by counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator is correct. You can only exercise the fifth amendment privilege on your own, and not on advice of someone

else. Now will you respond to the question?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. All right. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Carpenter. You have done some writing since returning to the United States?

Mr. Hinton. Here again, I think that is certainly a right which I have under the first amendment, as to whatever I might write or say.

The Chairman. Mr. Hinton, again let me admonish you that this committee does not recognize your right to refuse to answer questions under the first amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. Hinton. Am I directed to answer that question?

The Chairman. You are ordered and directed to answer that question.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. Could you repeat the question? (The reporter read the question referred to.)
Mr. Hinton. I have written some things.

Mr. Carpenter. I hand you, here, an article entitled "Travelogue: Yenan to Mongolia," from the Daily People's World, Friday, January 8, 1954, author William Hinton, and I ask you if you are the author of that article.

Mr. HINTON. I would like to see it.

Mr. Carpenter. You may.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel at length.)

The Chairman. I call to the attention of the people at this hearing that congressional committees have been under some fire for their method of handling hearings, but in no court of law would a witness be permitted to sit and visit with his counsel before he responded to a question. It is being permitted in this hearing. It would not be permitted in a court of law.

Mr. Hinton. Mr. Chairman, this appears to be a reprint of something which I wrote while I was in China, and I am not sure whether

it is accurate or whether it is in full what I wrote.

The Chairman. But on casual examination, you would say it was your work, Mr. Hinton; is that right?

Mr. Hinton. I didn't say that. I said it appears to be a reprint of

an article which I wrote while I was in China.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I think that is sufficient.

Mr. Hinton. I am not sure it is a complete reprint of what I wrote. The Chairman. I understand that. But you did recognize some of the work as your writings. I did not ask you whether it was verbatim.

Mr. Hinton. It appears to be a reprint of something I wrote while

in China

Senator Welker. It is under your byline, your name?

Mr. Hinton. I didn't get the question.

The CHAIRMAN. It is under your byline, your name, William Hinton?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I didn't even know that an article of mine had been—

Senator Welker. That is not answering my question.

Mr. Hinton. In that publication.

Senator Welker. I will get to that in a moment. You saw the article handed you by counsel, and you saw your name, William Hinton. Is that correct?

Mr. Hinton. My name is William Hinton.

Senator Welker. Did you ever write anything called Travelogue: Yenan to Mongolia?

Mr. Hinton. No, I didn't write anything with that title.

The CHAIRMAN. Did someone else write it and put your name to it?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I haven't even had time to read this thing. As far as I know, I never wrote anything with that title.

Senator Welker. We will get into that a little later.

In a box at the bottom of page 1 of this exhibit, or the front page of this exhibit, these words are typed:

About the author: William Hinton is a United States agronomist who has spent the last several years in China. This article describes a trip he took to visit his brother-in-law, Sidney Engst, at a livestock experimental farm in Inner Mongolia.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that an apt description, Mr. Hinton? Would

that identify you?

Mr. Hinton. That certainly could well refer to me. I have written about a trip in China, but I certainly had no knowledge of its being printed in this paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that article published, that you wrote?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I wrote an article about that subject for the China Monthly Review.

The CHAIRMAN. For the China Monthly Review, published in

China?

Senator Welker. Do you have a brother-in-law by the name of Sidney Engst, E-n-g-s-t, who works at a livestock experimental station in Inner Mongolia?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness, before responding, conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. Yes, my brother-in-law goes by that name. I mean,

he has that name.

Senator Welker. He goes by that name?

Mr. HINTON. That is his name.

Senator Welker. Do you care to tell us anything more about your brother-in-law that might be helpful to the committee?

The Chairman. This will go into the record and become a part of it. (The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 426" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 426

[From Daily People's World, January 8, 1954]

TRAVELOGUE: YENAN TO MONGOLIA

IT IS RUGGED COUNTRY, CHINA'S NORTHWEST—PACK TRAINS, CAVE HOMES, PACKS OF WILD DOGS—ENDLESS COUNTRY, AND TIMELESS, YET WITH IT ALL A SENSE OF THE CHANGE TO COME

By William Hinton

(About the author: William Hinton is a United States agronomist who has spent the last several years in China. This article describes a trip he took to visit his brother-in-law, Sidney Engst, at a livestock experimental farm in Inner Mongolia.)

Yenan! How much it means to all China and to the whole world! And yet seeing now this little winding town between the towering loess hills, all that glorious past seems like a dream, hard to recall. For today Yenan is like any other hill town, crowded with peasants buying in the stores. Workers walk the streets in the evening. The latest New Year's pictures are on sale everywhere. The only thing to remind one of history is the memorial hall, where historical objects are on display.

One keeps repeating to oneself, "This is Yenan. This is the base from which the revolution liberated all of China." And yet when one sees this quiet place and these immense hills it seems incredibly more difficult than one had

thought before.

I went up onto the hills above the town, past the many layers of caves where the majority of Yenanites live, up to the very heights now disfigured by decaying trenches and fortifications left behind by Hu Tsung-non's Kuomintang troops.

The hills here have a strange appearance—like the drooping petals of many-petaled flowers. The slopes of locss overhang each other. On these incredible slopes the peasants plow and plant and harvest. The hills are old and scarred, brown and bare, with never a tree to grace the crest. Yet the landscape is not without coloring, brought on by the play of light and shade on the many-surfaced knolls and ridges.

Beginning a few days before New Year's all traffic on the roads ceases and everybody makes for home. There is nothing a would-be traveler can do but wait 10 to 15 days until things pick up again. I was afraid it was already so close to New Year's that I could never get a mule and a guide to take me north, but I hooked up with the last pack train out of Yenan before the holidays.

The muleteer had 12 donkeys and 3 mules in his string, with 3 men to care for them. Each animal belonged to a different relative—nucle, brother, brother-in-law—and they were entrusted to this man for the trip. He had come to Yenan with salt from Ting Byan. On the trip north with me there were several government workers going to their homes for New Year's, and an old peasant named Kang on his way home to Anbyan.

Our second night was spent at an attractive little inn high up above the road and carved out of a loess cliff. Here the hills have lost that flower-petal appearance and are simply scarred and treeless domes and ridges cut here and there by

deep gullies.

The inn itself consisted of 2 caves, 1 with a door to the outside and the other connected to the first by a narrow passage, and with only a window opening to

the outside. This type of cave is common enough, but what distinguished this inn was its extreme neatness and cleanliness. The arched ceiling and walls had been washed with a light brown paint. Bowls, chopsticks, and utensils were all washed vigorously in hot water and placed neatly on a shelf.

The next day we "turned the mountain" (meaning we crossed the highest point), and dropped down into a spectacular gorge hundreds of feet deep and cut

in solid rock.

The gorge eventually led into a broad river valley. All along the sides of the valley, homes and caves were cut into the cliff walls, some of them very extensive and elaborate and all of them absolutely inaccessible. I was told these were the hideouts for the people in former times when the Mohammedan horsemen raided here, killing every living thing they could get their hands on.

The shelters are cut into solid rock high on the cliffs with only handholds in the rock, or temporary board catwalks as a means of entrance. It was obvious that at some places there had been drawbridges which could be pulled up, leaving

only a sharp drop between the attackers and the defenders.

In earlier times these places were practically impregnable, since any attacker would have to come up the smooth face of the cliff and could easily be sent to his

death with rocks thrown by those hidden in the caves above.

As we went up the valley we passed group after group of peasants going downstream. They had been to the fair in the county seat and were going home with cloth, red paper for door and window decorations, and New Year's pictures. Some had candy and other delicacies for the children. All were gay and well dressed. Some were singing as they walked along.

If you did not see these people living here you would not believe that these mountains could support such a population. The hills are so barren, dry, and steep it seems hopeless to try to plant anything. Yet they raise good crops

and keep lots of livestock.

Dz Tan Hsien is a tiny place, hardly as big as an ordinary village on the plains, yet here, where a village consists of three houses, it is a regular metropolis. There is only one street, lined with houses and shops surrounded by the ruins of an ancient earthen wall and watchtowers. All around are high loss hills.

In the back of the town is a large building set on a hill, the memorial to Liu Dz Tan, who built here the old Shan-Kan-Ning border region. He was born in this town and educated at Yulin middle school, where there was a Communist Party group. There he and Kao Kang became Communists and returned to the hills to set up a peasant soviet. They organized the "Red Spears" in the mountains, and gradually built up the region to which the whole Communist Party leadership and Red Army finally advanced at the end of the long march.

Liu Dz Tan was killed in battle toward the beginning of the anti-Japanese war. He will never be forgotten by the Chinese people. Some day not far off when the highway goes through here his memorial will be enlivened with many

visitors.

Pao An, as this county was called before, was once the capital of the whole border region and the home of the Communists' Central Committee. Here the famous Red Army Academy was set up, and Mao Tse-tung gave his lectures on strategic problems of China's revolutionary war. Generals like Lin Piao

and Peng Teh-huai were the students.

Of course, the whole population turned out to see "the foreigner." I had become used to this in my travels—the friendly curiosity and laughter at my light hair and blus eyes, but especially the "gao-bi-tze" (big nose) by which all foreigners are known. Tonight it seemed too much. I was tired from the trip. But the people were insistent; they poked their fingers through the paper on the windows and peeked through. Others pushed their way through the door when someone brought me hot water. Finally two government workers came into my room.

"You should talk to these people," they said. "They have never seen a foreigner before and they want to be friendly."

Of course, they were right. I opened the door and all of us spent a pleasant

evening talking of this and that.

The next morning we were off just before dawn. Here and there on the hills a flock of sheep grazed on the dry remains of last year's grass. In the valley two donkey colts fought playfully. A peasant in a sheepskin rode by on a mule. It seemed as lf it had always been this way, as if nothing had changed, would change, or could change.

So it seemed on the surface. Here there are no trains, no trucks, no tractors,

no factories, not even any oil wells.

And yet this is only the surface. In these hills live people who know that this area will move forward with the rest of China until it is unrecognizable. It will be pushed forward by these very same men and women who are backing at the hills with mattocks and scouring the gullies for brush for their cooking fires. They are attending evening classes for literacy, and they are learning to let their children choose freely their wives and husbands. They are organizing into mutual-aid teams and learning to select seeds.

As the days went by I began to get better acquainted with old man Kaug. He was on his way back from a tremendous trip west, 1,300 li beyond Lanchow, where he went to see his son, an apprentice mechanic in an army truck repair base. This trip was a great event in the old man's life, as he had never been

out of this area before.

He was most impressed by Lanchow, by the great iron bridge over the Yellow River, by the airport, the construction work going on, the whole layout of the town. He was also greatly impressed by the dancing performance given by a troupe of Soviet artists while he was at the army base. He talked about this many times. He was also pleased as Punch by the treatment being given his son, and the high prestige of the new trade the boy is learning.

Kang lives only a mile from the livestock farm at San Byan. All the way up through the hills he kept telling anyone who would listen about the wonders of this farm, the Soviet stallions, the milk cows, the Sinkiang sheep that are bred

by "injection."

This last caused a great deal of comment. Breeding by "injection," as they call artificial insemination, is unbelievable to most of the mountain folk, but Kang maintained stanchly that it really worked and produced excellent lambs. I think a good portion of his listeners thought he was telling tall tales, but some believed him, too. There are a lot of new things these days and it doesn't pay to be too incredulous.

I found old Kang to be really a very lively and progressive person, and when I got to his home, a little mud hut out on the edge of the desert with a corral made of sticks for a few stragging sheep, I thought even more of him. The settlers here were all Catholics. As Kang said, "We had to be or they wouldn't let us settle down here. All the land belonged to the church."

They all came in the last 15 or 20 years on land that used to be Mongol pasture. They are anything but wealthy. To leave this hut and go off by foot, by truck and by train almost to Sinkiang to see his sou in the army—it is really a tre-

mendous thing.

At noon, after leaving the Tiger Lair Ridge, we came to a little inn far up another wild gorge. As we went north the caves got bigger and more capacious and this inn consisted of a high vaulted chamber cut out of loess. The walls and ceiling were blackened by smoke, but the woman who ran it had spent no little time and pains painting a beautiful border design around the wall. It reminded me of American Indian pottery designs—geometric patterns formed by sharply zigzagging lines in black and white.

On the wall was a notice from the "Old Liberated Areas Visiting Group." In 1951 groups were sent out from Peking to visit all the old border regions and Soviet areas, to investigate conditions, listen to the people's problems and help

work out plans for swift development.

Testifying to the fact that these groups not only got to the old areas but had their message widely spread throughout the region was this announcement on the wall of the cave, saluting the people of the border region and explaining

the purpose of the visiting group.

The next day we crossed what seemed an endless series of low ridges and rolling valleys, and here and there came across patches of sand. Although the guide said we were almost to the plain I couldn't see how we were going to get there because the land kept going up. What was happening was that we were climbing up out of the mountains.

We went up through a narrow cut in the hills, a sort of gulley in the loess, and suddenly came out upon the Mongolian plain. The country had been gradually opening out but I was not prepared for the sight that greeted us here. This country was endless. Before us the land fell away slowly for about 15 miles and

then rose up again for about 15 more. Then came the sand.

As far as we could see to east and west this was the same pattern, a great natural basin bounded on the north by sand and on the south by mountain ridge. We could see trees, farms, villages, even church spires here and there. Everything seemed very clear and near, and yet at the same time far away. Distances were hard to judge and so were directions.

As we went down into the basin the country seemed to level out and become even more confusing. Finally, by asking our way, we came to a village Old Kang knew well. It was here that I saw the necessity for the stout stick he had urged me to carry along. A pack of wild looking dogs made for us as we passed each farm, growling and baring their teeth for all the world as though they wanted to eat us up. Which they probably did. There are many stories

in these parts about dogs that ate unwary travelers.

We finally saw Old Kang to his home and I made for the livestock farm with my heart in my mouth for fear that Sid, my brother-in-law whom I had come all this way to see, might have already left for the south. But no, he was still there. They ushered me in through a gate at what looked like it might be the village school and then into a mud-walled compound where five rams were feeding from a wooden trough. The curtain of one of the doors of this compound was pulled aside and there was Sid, comfortably ensconced in, of all things, a beach chair

The first thing he said was, "Hinton, where in hell did you get such a big

nose!"

Mr. Hinton. What was the question?

Senator Welker. I asked if you would care to tell us any more about your brother-in-law.

Mr. Hinton. I can't think of anything more that would be of in-

terest to the committee about my brother-in-law.

Senator Welker. I would like to ask that the witness, at the close of the hearing, be asked to read the exhibit heretofore presented to him and either admit or deny under oath whether or not he wrote that article.

And the concluding question is: Do you have any idea, Mr. Hinton, how the People's Daily World happened to plagiarize your writing?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. I don't think the term "plagiarize" is correct.

Senator Welker. Someone who uses other people's material without consent is said to have plagiarized that material. You are not going to argue with me on that, are you, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. Hinton. I thought "plagiarize" had a different meaning. I have no knowledge of how or why this publication should publish

that article.

Senator Welker. And this is the first time, to your knowledge, that you ever heard of it being used by this publication?

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Senator Welker. Do you intend to make an objection to them for using it without your consent?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter. Mr. Hinton. I don't have any objection to it.

Senator Welker. And had they asked you prior to publishing that, you would have been glad to give your consent to them to use the article and print it?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. They probably would have been given permission. Senator Hendrickson. Mr. Hinton, in referring to your brother-in-

law, you said "He goes by that name." Just what did you mean by that?

Mr. HINTON. That is his name. That is what I meant. Senator Hendrickson. Was he christened by that name?

Mr. Hinton. I certainly think so.

Senator Hendrickson. Was he given that name by his parents?

Mr. Hinton. Yes, as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. He is married to your sister Joan?

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does she still go by the name of Joan Hinton, or does she take her husband's name?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. She goes by the name of Joan Hinton.

The CHAIRMAN. She does not take the married name?

Mr. HINTON. No.

Senator Hendrickson. Mr. Chairman, in Mr. Hinton's statement he said this:

In China I worked in both Nationalist and Communist-led areas. I traveled widely, from Harbin to Lanchow, and from Chahar to central llonan—east and west 2,000 miles, north and south 1,000 miles. I saw conditions in the country-side and in the cities, on farms, and in factories. I learned to speak and read the language. I talked with thousands of Chinese from all walks of life and from all parts of the country.

How close did you get to the Korean border?

Mr. Hinton. I think Mukden was as close as I ever got; the city of Mukden.

Senator Hendrickson. How far is that from the Korean border?

Mr. Hinton. Oh, that is quite a ways.

Senator Hendrickson. You say "quite a ways." How many miles? Mr. Hinton. I don't know. I would have to get an atlas to look that up.

Senator Hendrickson. Well, there is a prison camp there; isn't

there?

Mr. Hinton. Not that I know of. I don't know.

Senator Hendrickson. Where they hold United Nations prisoners?

Mr. Hinton. I have no knowledge of it.

Senator Hendrickson. You have no knowledge of it at all?

Mr. Hinton. No.

Senator Hendrickson. Where were you born?

Mr. Hinton, In Chicago, Ill.

Senator Hendrickson. And you are a native American; are you not?

Mr. Hinton, Yes.

Senator Hendrickson. Have you ever changed your name since the date of your birth, or have you always been William Hinton?

Mr. Hinton. I have always been William Hinton.

Senator Hendrickson. In your statement, you said:

Chinese from different walks of life told me again and again that they only wanted to be left alone to get on with the work of building up their country. I feel certain that that desire is sincere, and that no government can hope to lead the Chinese into aggressive adventures abroad,

What led them into the Korean action?

Mr. Hinton. Well, they felt that their country was threatened by the drive of the United Nations troops toward the Yalu River border.

The Charman. Did the same reason apply to Indochina?

Mr. Hinton. As far as I know, they were not fighting in Indochina.

The CHAIRMAN. They were not. All right.

Senator Hendrickson. Now, they did go into the Korean action, did they not, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. Hinton. That is common knowledge; yes.

Senator Hendrickson. Then why do you say no government can

hope to lead the Chinese into aggressive adventures abroad?

Mr. Hinton. They don't regard that as an aggression abroad. It was, from their point of view, a defense of their borders, when the western troops drove on their borders.

Senator Hendrickson. Were there sizable troop formations in the area in which you lived? Chinese-troop formations?

Mr. HINTON. Not that I was aware of.

Senator Hendrickson. Of the Chinese Republic?

Mr. Hinton. Not that I was aware of.

Senator Hendrickson. You never saw any troops there?

Mr. Hinton. Oh, I saw soldiers once in a while; yes.

Senator Hendrickson. Did you ever see them in formation?

Mr. Hinton. You mean marching?

Senator Hendrickson. Yes.

Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Senator Hendrickson. Did you ever see them in maneuvers in the

Mr. Hinton. I don't think I ever did, no.

Senator Hendrickson. Did you ever see them under arms, carrying weapons?

Mr. Hinton. Carrying rifles, yes.

Senator Hendrickson. Did you ever see any cannon or heavy artillery?

Mr. Hinton. Oh, yes. I saw some. Senator Hendrickson. Where did they get their artillery from? Mr. Hinton. They captured most of it from the Nationalist forces. and the artillery I saw was American artillery.

Senator Hendrickson. Did you identify any of the artillery and

equipment as Russian?

Mr. Hinton. In later years they had some Russian trucks and things.

Senator Hendrickson. How about their planes? Were they active

in the air?

Mr. Hinton. Oh, they used to have a few planes flying around. Senator Hendrickson. What kind of planes were they? Could you tell us by name?

Mr. Hinton. Around Peking I saw some jets occasionally. I don't know what kind of jets or where they came from, but they had some

jet planes.

Senator Hendrickson. Did you see any factories where they manufactured their own planes?

Mr. Hinton. No, I didn't see any such factories.

Senator Hendrickson. That is all.

Senator Welker. Right on that subject, I would like to ask the

witness, along the line of Senator Hendrickson's questions.

In your statement you say no country can lead the Chinese into aggressive adventures abroad. I suppose you have read about the incident of the shooting down of the British airliner, and, as to some of our rescue planes, the fact that they fired upon American aircraft, and that two of them were shot down by Americans. Now, how do you account for that? They were in a peaceful area. Apparently, at least, from what we hear, our people were trying to save human

lives, and they were shot at by these people that you say are so peaceful and cannot be led into aggression. They were in a peaceful area, so I am informed. Do you care to comment on that, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. Hinton. Well, it is common knowledge that the Formosan Government today is conducting a kind of guerrilla warfare against the Chinese mainland. This was written up fairly completely in an article which I believe was published recently in the Reader's Digest and also published in the Los Angeles Times, or Daily News—I can't remember just which newspaper. But there are constant pinprick attacks from Formosa, and they are quite on the alert for airplanes coming in close to the Chinese mainland.

Senator Welker. Do you think they are on the alert to the extent that they would shoot down an easily recognized domestic airliner

carrying innocent people? A commercial airliner?

Mr. Hinton. I think they recognized that as a mistake and made an apology.

Senator Welker. They have made an apology on that?

Well, now, how do you account for the fact that they attempt to shoot down our own American boys out on a mission of mercy trying to save human lives?

Mr. Hinton. I think it would be quite difficult for them to distinguish between our own Navy planes and the planes the Nationalists have, since they are also supplied by us as far as I know. So that

they are quite jumpy about planes approaching their shores.

Senator Welker. I imagine they are quite jumpy. And the fact of the matter is that if they are such humanitarian people as you have told the committee, they knew that some people were in the ocean and likely to die, and perhaps most of them have drowned, or been killed, and yet they did not use very much effort to find out whether these were Chiang's forces or whether it was our own boys out on a mission of mercy trying to save human lives.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)
The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. Well, I think in regard to this, it is something that happened just recently, and the full story has not really come out

Furthermore, it happened a long, long way from here, right on the China coast. And I would not care to comment further on that

The Chairman. Proceed, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter. You did visit your brother-in-law, Engst, in Inner Mongolia?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the grounds of the fifth amendment, as previously.

The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you visit your sister in Inner Mongolia? Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Senator Welker. Did you visit anybody in Inner Mongolia?

Mr. Hinton. I respectfully decline to answer that.

Senator Welker. You decline to answer whether you visited a shoe shop, a drugstore, or anything else, or the proprietor thereof?

Mr. Hinton. I respectfully refuse to answer that.

Senator Hendrickson. Now, Mr. Hinton, for the record, will you tell the committee how you arrived home, what mode of travel you followed?

Mr. Hinton. What mode of travel I followed? Senator Hendrickson. What mode of travel.

Mr. Hinton. I came by plane, train, and ship, and car. Senator Hendrickson. Where did you take the train?

Mr. Hinton. I took the train from Peking across Siberia, the Trans-Siberian Railroad, to Prague, Czechoslovakia. From there I flew by plane to London. From England I took a ship to Quebec. Canada.

Senator Hendrickson. You did pass through Soviet Russia, then,

Mr. Hinton. I traveled through the whole of it.

Senator Hendrickson. And you had a stopover in Moscow?

Mr. Hinton. I changed trains in Moscow.

Senator Hendrickson. Did you have any conferences or conversations or meetings with anybody in Moscow?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the grounds previously stated, the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. The same record.

Senator Hendrickson. Then from Prague, you took a plane, didn't

Mr. Hinton. From Prague I took a plane.

Senator Hendrickson. And then came home by ship from what

Mr. Hinton. Liverpool, if I remember correctly.

Senator Hendrickson. To Quebec?

Mr. Hinton. What is that?

Senator Hendrickson. From Liverpool to Quebec?

Mr. Hinton. That is right.

Senator Hendrickson. Now, you have been shown this article here, Mr. Hinton, and I notice at the top of the article are some pictures. Did you furnish any pictures for the article that you wrote initially?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter. Mr. Hinton. No; I didn't furnish any pictures.

Senator Hendrickson. Well, did you ever take these pictures, or did anybody take them for you?

Mr. Hinton. I would like to see that. The CHAIRMAN. Hand it to the witness.

Mr. Hinton. I never saw these pictures before.

Senator Hendrickson. They are completely unfamiliar to you?

Mr. Hinton. Completely unfamiliar to me.

Senator Hendrickson. You cannot identify the scenes or the background in any way?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness confers with his counsel before responding to the question of Senator Hendrickson.

Mr. Hinton. I don't doubt that they may be authentic pictures, but I have never seen them before.

Senator Hendrickson. Do you have a camera?

Mr. Hinton. I don't possess a camera.

Senator Hendrickson. Did you when you came home?

Mr. HINTON. No.

Mr. Carpenter. I would like to have introduced into the record this travelog.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in the record and will be a part of the record.

Mr. Mandel, do you have anything on the Daily People's World? Mr. Mandel. The Daily People's World has been characterized by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of 1948 as "the west coast mouthpiece of the Communist Party."

Mr. Carpenter. On what kind of a passport did you travel when

you went through Russia to Prague?

Mr. Hinton. At that time, my United States passport was invalid, because it had run out, and I did not use it to travel, and I could not renew it in China, because there were no American diplomatic representatives in China. So I traveled to Czechoslovakia with a Chinese exit permit.

Mr. CARPENTER. And was that picked up in Prague?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth

Mr. Carpenter. Was an American passport issued to you at Prague? Mr. Hinton. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you fill out any forms when you received that passport?

Mr. Hinton. I made an application for passport.

Mr. Carpenter. You filled out an application. On that, did you take an oath that you had not been employed by a foreign government and that you had not belonged to any organization that had for its purpose the overthrow of or bearing arms against the United States?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. I made application on a printed form, on which I made a number of changes, and this was accepted, and I don't remember just how the wording went.

Mr. Carpenter. What were those changes you made? The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I don't remember just the wording of the changes. Mr. Carpenter. In other words, this form did not satisfy you, and you made certain changes that you do not remember now?

Mr. Hinton. That is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. You do not have any idea what those changes

Mr. Hinton. I don't remember the wording of the changes.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have this copy entered into the record and made a part thereof. This is a copy of a blank application.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 427" and is as follows:)

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and is submitted herewith for cancellation

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OATH OF AL	LEGIANCE
	of the Constitution of the United States against all enemi- o the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without.
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The Chairman. Let me ask on this: Did you change any of this wording:

I solemnly swear that the statements on both sides of this application are

true and that the photograph attached hereto is a likeness of me.

I have (have not) been naturalized as a citizen of a foreign state; taken an oath or made an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state; entered or served in the armed forces of a foreign state; accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof; voted in a political election in a foreign state or participated in an election or plebiscite to determine the sovereignty over foreign territory; made a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state; been convicted by court-martial of deserting the military or naval services of the United States in time of war; been convicted by court-martial, or by a court of competent jurisdiction, of committing any act of treason against, or of attempting by force to overthrow, or of bearing arms against the United States.

Did you change any of that wording? (Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness, before re-

sponding to the question, conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I recall that I did not sign it as it is written there; that changes were made. I don't recall exactly the wording of the changes, and I believe that the document is in the hands of the Government and is certainly available to the committee, I should think.

And why don't we get that?

The Chairman. We will certainly try to obtain it, Mr. Hinton, but not all executive documents are available to congressional committees.

What did you change? What change did you make? Could you

help this committee in that respect?

For example, you were employed by a foreign government. Did you change that?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I can't recall that, without looking at the document. The Chairman. You don't recall?

Mr. Hinton. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hinton, why do you not cooperate with this committee?

Mr. Hinton. I am trying to recall as best I can about this.

The Chairman. Why do you not want to make us as happy as those people you saw over in Communist China? Why do you not want smiles on our faces?

Mr. Hinton. I certainly do want smiles on your faces.

The Chairman. Why do you not answer this simple question the committee has put to you? Mr. Hinton, are you back here for the express purpose of spreading Communist propaganda in this country by such material as this? Is that your avowed purpose for being here in this country?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness, before re-

sponding to the question, consulted with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. Look, I am not on any charges here. I have not been accused of any crimes. I am a perfectly loyal American citizen, just the same as you people, and I am certainly trying to cooperate as best I can on this matter.

The Chairman. Well, answer that question, then. Answer that

question.

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. Haven't I furnished the answer to that?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. Hinton. I have nothing to add to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have nothing to add. Are you a Communist now?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question, respectfully, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that answers it fairly fully.

Senator Welker. I will ask one more question.

With respect to the question propounded to you by the chairman with respect to your oath, "I solemnly swear," wherein he related to you the statements that you swore to, in that oath that you took before a person authorized to administer oaths, under the pains and penalties of perjury if you violated that oath, did you in every respect tell the truth when you signed that oath? The oath that you were required to sign in your application for a passport, heretofore read to you by the Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness, before responding, conferred with his counsel.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. Well, I think I see what you are getting at, but I

Senator Welker. Now, what do you think I am getting at, sir? Mr. Hinton. It would be easy, since I don't have the document, and you don't have the document, to perjure myself on that question, and I decline to answer it.

The Chairman. You do not need to decline to answer. You can just say you don't recall, that you don't remember. You do not need to resort to the fifth amendment on a simple question of that kind. If you do not remember, say so.

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that.

The Chairman. Under the fifth amendment, that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. Hinton. Yes, sir.

Senator Hendrickson. Just a minute, Mr. Chairman, before you pass on from this application here.

At the time you signed this, were you duly sworn? Did you take

an oath? Did you raise your right hand? (Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Senator Hendrickson. Why would you decline to answer that? Why would you be afraid to tell this committee whether you took an oath formally or not?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same ground. Senator Hendrickson. You took an oath here today, did you not? Were you not sworn here today?

Mr. Hinton. I certainly was.

Senator Hendrickson. That did not do you any harm, did it?

The Chairman. The witness is entitled to the protection of the fifth amendment if he thinks his answer might incriminate him.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you a member of the Communist Party on

the 11th day of May 1945?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question on the same ground. Mr. Carpenter. Did you, on the 11th day of May 1945 make an oath as follows, in connection with the Office of War Information:

I, William H. Hinton, * * * do further swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; and that during such time as I am an employee of the Federal Government, I will not advocate nor become a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you live up to that oath, Mr. Hinton?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)
The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that.

Mr. Carpenter. I give you a photostatic copy of a record signed by William H. Hinton, and I will ask you if that is your signature?

Mr. Hinton. That appears to be my signature.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 428" and

appears on pp. 1785 and 1786:)

Mr. Carpenter. Now what, if any, were your dealings with Benjamin H. Kizer, UNRRA Director in China?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the same grounds. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Jefferson Franklin Ray, Jr., UNRRA Chief of Far Eastern Affairs?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. Carpenter. Tun Pi Wu, chairman, relief committee, Chinese Communist area.

Mr. Hinton. I believe I met him once.

Mr. Carpenter. You met him once. Did you have any association with him?

Mr. Hinton. I simply met him socially.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you ever have any connection with him in Communist work?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Same record.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the same grounds previously stated.

The Chairman. Fifth amendment. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you know a Mildred Price?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer.

Mr. Carpenter. Madam Sun Yat Sen?

Mr. Hinton. I met her.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you have any dealings with her in connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds,

Ехнивіт №. 428



OATH OF OFFICE

OATH OF OFFICE, AFFIDAVIT, AND DECLARATION OF APPOINTEE

OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION WASHINGTON, D. C.

I, William H. Rinton

Do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance

	to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. SO HELP ME GOD.
B. AFFIDAVIT	Do further swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; and that during such time as I am an employee of the Federal Government, I will not advocate nor become a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.
C. DECLARATION OF APPOINTEE	Do further certify that (1) I have not paid or offered or promised to pay any money or other thing of value to any person, firm, or corporation for the use of influence to procure my appointment; (2) I will inform myself of and observe the provisions of the Civil Service law and rules and Executive orders concerning political activity, political assessments, etc., as quoted on the attached Information for Appointee, and [strike out either (3) or (4)] (3) the answers given by me in the Declaration of Appointee on the reverse of this sheet are true and correct; (4) the answers contained in my Application for Federal Employment, Form No. dated
	sworn before me this 11th day of May A. D., 19 45
Subscribed and Washin	
at	(City) (City)
(SEAL) NOTE	Lebus Aulages Canature of Officer Employee Relations Officer — OWI MACT of June 26,1443, Sec. 2664 .—If the oath is taken before a Notary Public the date of expiration of his commission should be shown
5/	11/45Assoc. Propaganda Analyst 2/2/19
Date of Entran	ce on Duty) (Position to which appointed) (Date of Birth)

DECLARATION OF APPOINTEE

This form, if required, is to be completed before entrance on daty. Every question must be ourseered. Any false statement to this de

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(2) this agency in connection with this c	apprintment?			ļ				·····-
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(b) Are you willing to resign such position necessary to do so in order to hold the Federal	n or office if it becomes ral position?					•		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
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The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.
Mr. Carpenter. Did you know a Gerald Tannebaum?
Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the same ground.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you know Israel Epstein?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer.

Mr. Carpenter. Frederic V. Field?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer.

Mr. CARPENTER. T. A. Bisson.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Mr. CARPENTER. Talitha Gerlach?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. Solomon Adler?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer.

Mr. Carpenter. Evans F. Carlson?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer.

Mr. CARPENTER. Ch'ao Ting Chi?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness, before responding, conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I don't recall ever having met such a person.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you know John K. Emmerson?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you ever have any dealings with John K. Emmerson in Japan when you were there with the Japan Advertiser?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you ever have any relations with John K. Emmerson in 1945-46?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer.

Mr. Carpenter. At this time, I would like to put in photostatic copies of the service records of William Hinton while he was engaged in Federal employment with the United States Government.

The Chairman. These records will be properly marked, will be

inserted in the record, and will become a part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 429" and is as follows:)

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
SERVICE RECORD DIVISION,
Washington, D. C., July 20, 1954.

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL SERVICE

(Notice to individuals: This record should be preserved. Additional copies of service histories cannot be furnished due to limited personnel in the Commission. This record may be presented to appointing officers for their inspection.)

Name: Hinton, William H. Date of birth: February 2, 1919.

Authority for original appointment (examination from which appointed or other authority, Executive order, law, or other exemption): Schedule A-1-7.

Effective date	Nature of action	Position, grade, salary, etc.
	Accepted appointment (for duty outside the United States).	Associate propaganda analyst, \$3,200 per annum, Office of War Information, Overseas Branch, Outpost Service Bureau, Washington, D. C.
Aug. 31, 1945 Apr. 9, 1946	Transfer (Executive Order 9608) Separation (involuntary) (com- pletion of assignment).	Department of State. Associate propaganda analyst, \$3,200 per annum, State, Outpost Service Bureau, Washington, D. C.

A. M. DEEM, Chief, Audit Section.

The above transcript of service history does not include all salary changes, intra-agency transfers within an organizational unit not involving changes from one official headquarters or duty station to another, and promotions or demotions, since Federal agencies are not required to report all such actions to the Commission.

Ехнівіт №. 429

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, Washington, D. C., July 22, 1954.

Mr. BENJAMIN MANDEL,

Research Director, Internal Security Subcommittee,

Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR Mr. MANDEL: In accordance with the request in your letter of July 14, 1954, I am enclosing herewith a history of the Federal service of William H. Hinton, as shown in our service record file.

No application papers are available for Mr. Hinton.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Macy, Jr., Executive Director.

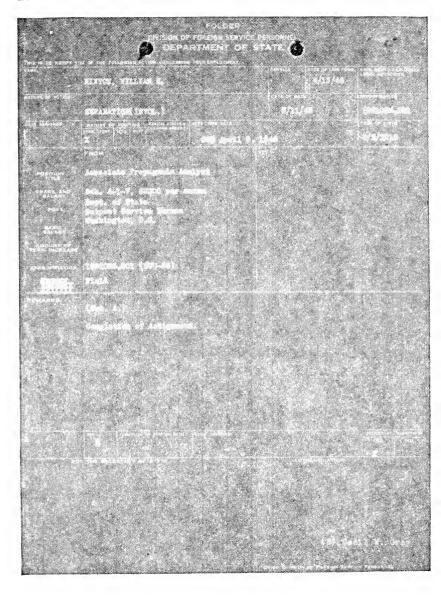
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		Date Received Nov 4, 1943
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF DEPARTMENTAL PERSONNEL

Washington, D. C.

The Secretary of State has approved the following action concerning your employment

March 89, 1946

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C. B. C. REPORT HO.

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DATE OF BUTTH 8-8-1919

LEGAL RESIDENCE

ADDITIONAL IDENTICAL

ALLOCATION:

FUT 63 POSITION NUMBER

in the Department of State:

MINTON, WILLIAM H.

Nature of Action: CANCELLATION OF PREVIOUS PARFOLD

	From:	То:
Position		Associate Propaganda
Grade & Salary		Analyst
Division		50H.A-1-7,\$5200 per ann
Section		Dept. of State
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W. Were any of the following members of your family born out-

wide Continental U. S. A.?

Wile Husband Enther Mother.

It so, Indicate which by marking the appropriate space, and they under Item 45 for each, (I) full name, including maiden name of wise or mather; (2) burthplace; (3) native citizenship; and (4) if U. S. naturalized, date of naturalization.

(b) Have you any relatives, by blood or by marriage (excluding persons in the U. S. armed lorces), now living in a lareign If so, for each relative show under Item 45 the (I) name, (2) relationship (3) place of realence, (4) birthplace, (5) present citizenship, and (6) whether translation resident.

42. List any special skills not shown in Question 37, such as operation of shortware rodo, multilith, key-punch, furret-lathe, or scientific or professional devices.

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Do you have a license to operate an automobile?

Yes No

43. State what kind of work you prefer

. Space for detailed answers to other questions:

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4. Give ony speciel qualifications not covered elsewhere in your pophication, each as (a) your more important publications (do NOT submit copies unless requested); (b) your parts intended to the public construction of infurments etc. The public construction of infurments etc. The public public construction of infurments etc.		
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	(il any).	(il any). Use one side only. Enclose, unattached, with application.

. If you claim preference for the Indian Service as an Indian, you must file with this application a certificate from the experimental of the Indian cyconcy where you are registered, or from the Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, showing that you have at Jeast one-fourth Indian blood. JURAT (OR OATH). - This jurat (or eath) must be executed.

The following oath must be taken before a notary public, the secretary of a United States civil service board of examiners, or other officer authorized to administer oaths, before whom the applicant must appear in person. The following are among those not authorized to administer this oath: Postmasters (except in Alaska), Army officers, post-office inspectors, and chief clerks and assistant chief clerks in the Railway Mail Service.

The composition and work in connection with any material required to be submitted for this examination are entirely my own, except where I have given full credit for quoted matter or the collaboration of others by quotation marks and references. and in the compositiogobs the same I have received no assistance except as indicated fully in my explanatory statement.

I, the undersigned, DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR (OR AFFIRM) that the statements made by me in answer to the foregoing questions are full and true to the best of my knowledge and belief, SO HELP ME GOD.

Il'Iemale, prelix "Miss" or "Mrs." and if marned use four own given name, as "Mrs. Mary L. Doe."

JUNEY / (Sign WITH PEN AND INK your name-one given name, initial or initials, and surname) (Buzard (Signature of applicant).....(M. M. M.

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C. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE O-20094-1

Senator Welker. I would like to ask this question, Mr. Chairman. There was a gentleman among those that you were asked whether you knew or had any connection with who, I believe, came from my part of the country; and certainly if he is innocent, this committee wants to make no reflection whatsoever upon him, and I wonder if you could resolve any doubt in favor of that individual? I cannot see why you would embarrass these witnesses by taking the fifth amendment. I want you to search your memory, and if there is any embarrassment that may attach to any of these individuals by reason of your answers to the questions as to whether you know them or worked for them or anything of that sort, I wish you would resolve it. Do you see what I mean?

Mr. Hinton. I don't want to change any part of that record.

Senator Welker. You do not want to change any part of that record?

Mr. Hinton. That is right.

Senator Welker. Notwithstanding the fact that some innocent person might be hurt?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Hinton. I don't, certainly, accept that this would hurt someone.

Senator Welker. You say that your taking of the fifth amendment would not hurt any innocent person? That is all I have to say.

Mr. Carpenter. Are you a brother of Jean Hinton, who was married to William Greene?

Mr. Hinton. Jean Hinton is my sister.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you visit at the Greene home?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that question, on the same grounds. The Chairman. Of the fifth amendment? Same record, Mr. deporter

Mr. Carpenter. Did you ever have occasion to stay at the Perro

Caliente Ranch in New Mexico owned by Mr. Oppenheimer?

The Charman. Is that Robert Oppenheimer?

Mr. Carpenter. Robert Oppenheimer. (Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter. The witness conferred before responding.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. I have here a telegram from Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison, attorney for Mr. Oppenheimer, and I would like this to be placed in the record at this time relative to Jean Hinton.

It reads as follows:

Confirming my telephone call to you the passage from Dr. Oppenheimer's cable to his secretary responsive to your inquiry in the Hinton matter reads as follows: "We gave permission to Joan Hinton, mother and family, to use our ranch Perro Caliente in upper Pecos for some weeks during wartime summer, probably 1945. Joan Hinton was niece of Sir Geoffrey Taylor, prominent and most helpful at wartime Los Alamos." Rest of Dr. Oppenheimer's cable dealt with matters at the institute unrelated to your question. I trust that so far as your inquiry concerning the Hinton matter is concerned, the information supplied is adequate. If you require anything further, please let me know.

(The telegram referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 430" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 430

NEW YORK, N. Y., July 26, 1954.

Col. ALVA C. CARPENTER,

Counsel, Internal Security Subcommittee,

Schute Office Building:

Confirming my telephone call to you the passage from Dr. Oppenheimer's cable to his secretary responsive to your inquiry in the Hinton matter reads as follows: "We gave permission to Joan Hinton, mother, and family to use our ranch Perro Caliente in upper Pecos for some weeks during wartime summer, probably 1945. Joan Hinton was niece of Sir Geoffrey Taylor, prominent and most helpful at wartime Los Alamos." Rest of Dr. Oppenheimer's cable dealt with matters at the institute unrelated to your question. I trust that so far as your inquiry concerning the Hinton matter is concerned, the information supplied is adequate. If you require anything further please let me know.

LLOYD K. GARRISON.

The Chairman. It will go into the record and become part of the record.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you know Geoffrey Taylor?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same basis.

Mr. Carpenter. Is Geoffrey Taylor a relative of yours? Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you attend the Peking Peace Conference in October of 1952?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you hear your sister, Joan, speak at that conference?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your sister there?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the fifth amendment?

Mr. Hinton. On the same basis.

The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. I hand you, here, a copy of the National Guardian, and a picture appearing there, and ask you if you recognize that as your sister Joan's picture. That is at the Peking Peace Conference.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Same record.

This exhibit may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The picture referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 431" and appears

on opposite page.)

Mr. Carpenter. Did you hear her attack the United States at that conference?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Carpenter. I have some other documents I would like to introduce into the record, if the Senator please, relative to Joan Hinton and her work with the Atomic Energy Commission, and her appeal to the Peace Conference.



The CHAIRMAN. All right. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The materials referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 432a, 432b, 432c, 432d" and are as follows:)

Ехнівіт №. 432-А

[From the Washington Times-Herald, Sept. 23, 1951]

ENEMY RADIO SAYS SHE IS IN MONGOLIA

(By Walter Trohan)

The Atomic Energy Commission last night released the Chicago Tribune from a pledge of secrecy, observed for 2 years, on the flight behind the Iron Curtain in China of a young American woman, who was an atomic scientist at the University of Chicago.

The Tribune's Washington Bureau withheld the story on representations of the Atomic Energy Commission and Federal Bureau of Investigation that the life of the woman and her husband might be endangered and that vital atomic secrets might possibly be divulged to the Communists.

REDS REVEAL WHEREABOUTS

The life of the young woman was a factor in the silence, because it was not known whether she had deserted to the Communists or whether she had gone behind the Iron Curtain to further American interests.

Yesterday the Red Chinese radio reported that a young American atomic scientist is living on an animal farm in Inner Mongolia. The broadcast was interpreted by the Atomic Energy Commission as definitely establishing her disappearance as voluntary and the Tribune was released from its pledge of secrecy.

The scientist is Joan Case [Chase] Hinton. The daughter of a New England family, she served as an expert on the water boiler project at the University of Chicago in preparation of the first atomic bomb.

Later she served at Los Alamos, N. Mex., in the preparation of the first bombs. She is married to an American agriculture expert, who went to China to help that country on farm problems. He went to China in the period when the State Department was regarding the Chinese Communists as agrarian revolutionaries rather than Communists. Mrs. Hinton accompanied her husband.

WORKED ON REACTORS

The Red Chinese broadcast identified Mrs. Hinton and quoted her as saying she came to Red China In 1948 because "I could stand it no longer." The broadcast quoted her as appealing to her fellow countrymen "to work actively for

peace and against war * * * China will never start a war, but is not afraid of America."

At Los Alamos, Mrs. Hinton's employment from February 1944 through December 1945, was confirmed by a spokesman who said most of her work was related to reactors, such as the Los Alamos water boiler. She left to return to the University of Chicago, it was reported.

Work on the Chicago and Los Alamos water boilers has since been declassified, the Atomic Energy Commission said here. Officials doubted but did not know whether Mrs. Hinton possessed any detailed knowledge of other phases of atomic fission.

PLEDGED TO SECRECY

The Tribune secured a tip on Mrs. Hinton's disappearance 2 years ago, which was several months after she disappeared in north China. The tip was checked with the FBI and then the AEC. Pledges of secrecy were asked and freely given in the interest of security and the personal safety of Mrs. Hinton.

From time to time the AEC gave what meager information it received through the Iron Curtain on Mrs. Hinton. Most of these reports consisted of statements of no change in status, but 3 months ago the Commission reported to Lloyd Norman, of the Tribune's Washington bureau, that Mrs. Hinton was still alive and that a letter from her had been received in this country. Contents of the letter were not disclosed.

Ехниит №. 432-В

[From the New York Times, Sept. 22, 1951]

PEIPING REPORTS UNITED STATES WOMAN ATOMIC EXPERT AS A "PEACE" WORKER IN AND FOR RED CHINA

Hong Kong, September 21.—The Peiping radio said tonight, "a young American atomic scientist" named Joan Chase Hilton [Hinton] was now in China working with her American husband on "an animal-breeding farm" in Inner Mongolia.

In an overseas broadcast, the Chinese Communist radio said Mrs. Hilton had been employed in the Los Alamos atomic-bomb project as a research assistant in 1943–45. The broadcast said she came to China in 1948, getting her first job behind the Communist lines in an iron factory in Shensi Province.

The Peiping radio made its report on Mrs. Hilton in broadcasting a "peace appeal" letter she was said to have written to the American Federation of Scientists.

"By 1948, I could stand it no longer," she was quoted as writing. "All my friends all seemed to be going back into a secret world. Were they crazy? Were we who studied physics to spend all our lives thinking up means of mass extermination?"

The letter ascribed to the Mrs. Hilton is part of a recent stream of intensified "peace" propaganda emanating from Peiping.

Asserting that China wanted "peace" and that neither China "nor any of her allies" would ever attack the United States, the Hilton letter was quoted as adding:

"I used to think American aid would mean a lot to China. A country so back-

ward, how could she develop without American help?

"But where there is a will there is a way and the Chinese people have a will so strong that nothing America can do will ever stop them. They will think of plenty of ways and they will develop fast. The only obstacle to their development would be war.

"They are not afraid of America. If she must fight, China will show that she is made of steel—but China will never start a war. War is against her every interest."

EXHIBIT No. 432-C

[From the Washington Star, Oct. 16, 1952]

AEC SAYS UNITED STATES GIRL AT MEETING OF REDS WORKED ON A-BOMB

The Atomic Energy Commission said yesterday that Joan Chase Hinton, a delegate to the Communist-sponsored Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, once worked at the Los Alamos, N. Mex., atomic bomb laboratory.

Peiping radio quoted Miss Hinton as telling the conference in Peiping last Saturday that "as one who touched with my own hand the very bomb which was dropped on Nagasaki (I feel) a deep sense of guilt and shame at the part I played in this crime."

HAD MINOR ROLE AT LAB

Actually, an AEC spokesman said, Miss Hinton held only a minor position at the Los Alamos lab and that she had nothing to do with the actual bomb. Development of the A-bomb then was in charge of a supersecret Army agency, the Manhattan project.

Peiping radio identified Miss Hinton as a former fellow in physics at the

Institute for Nuclear Studies at the University of Chicago.

State Department records show a passport was granted here December 23, 1947, to Joan Chase Hinton, 26, who supplied evidence that she had been hired by the China Welfare Fund to go to China as a field worker.

She said also that she planned to be married to an official of the fund who

was in China

The next available information on her was a Hong Kong report of September 25, 1951, quoting the Red China news agency as saying Miss Hinton and her husband were running an animal breeding farm in Inner Mongolia.

Records list her mother as Mrs. Carmelita Hinton, operator of the Putney

School at Putney, Vt.

WORKED FOR SCIENCE'S SAKE

Government monitors, who recorded the Peiping broadcast, said Miss Hinton identified herself as "a scientist who worked at the Los Alamos, N. Mex., atomic bomb project" because of her "creed of science for science's sake."

Then, she was quoted as saying:

"I am ashamed to admit it took the horror of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to shock me out of this ivory tower of complacency. * * *

"I shake the hands of all those who have refused to join in this deadly work and say—let us work even harder to force the outlawing of atomic bombs, bacteriological warfare, and all weapons of mass destruction."

"The audience gave a prolonged standing ovation to Joan Hinton's stirring

remarks," the broadcast said.

EXHIBIT No. 432-D

(Pickup by Foreign Broadcast Intelligence of a Peking broadcast)

[From China: Communist, Sept. 24, 1951]

SCIENTIST URGES AMERICA TO SEEK PEACE

(Peking, NCNA, in English Morse to Europe and North America, September 21, 1951, 1420 GMT-R)

Peking, September 21.—"Use your strength, use whatever you can, to work actively for peace and against war," writes Joan Chase Hinton, a young American atomic scientist now living in China, in a letter to the Federation of American Scientists, a copy of which appears in the latest issue of People's China. Now working with her American husband on an animal-breeding farm in Inner Mongolia, Miss Hinton, a research assistant at the atom bomb project in Los Alamos from 1943 to 1945, opposed the secrecy and Government control which became attached to all atomic research in United States.

"By 1948," she states, "I could stand it no longer. My friends all seemed to be going back into secret work. Were they crazy? Were we who studied physics to spend all our lives thinking up means of mass extermination? * * * memory of Hiroshima—150,000 lives * * * each of living, thinking, human being with hopes and desires, failures and successes, a life of his or her own—all gone. And I had held that bomb in my hand." That same year, Joan Hinton came to

China.

She contrasts the policy of the American Government, which drives for war abroad and which attacks the democratic rights and the living standards of American people at home, with what she has learned in China. "Perhaps the main thing," Joan Hinton writes, "is that the people of the East do not want

war * * * they are occupied with building up their own countries, pulling them out of their centuries of feudalism, changing them as fast as possible into modern

industrialized lands with abundance for all.

"I used to think that American aid would mean a lot to China. A country so backward—how could she develop without American help? But where there is a will there is a way, and the Chinese people have a will so strong that nothing America can do will ever stop it. They will think of plenty of ways and they will develop fast. The only obstacle to their development would be war. They are not afraid of America. If she must fight, China will show that she is made of steel—but China will never, never start a war; war is against her every interest."

Joan Chase Hinton cites many details from her experiences in China. first job was working in an iron factory packed away in the mountains of Shensi. What were they making there? They were melting up American-made hand grenades, shells, wings from crashed planes sent from America to Chiang, steel and aluminum weapons sent by America to kill them, and making them into cooking pots, plows, and saws. Since then, all China has been liberated and she now has more regular factories day by day. Skilled mechanics and engineers are being trained. Though some places still work by hand, others are forging ahead still faster with machines, while others are using machines to make machines. It will not take her long."

APPEAL MADE

Miss Hinton closes her letter with the following appeal: "The people of China want peace. The people of the world want peace, including the people of America. * * * to work on secret projects, refusing to work on war, of course, does no good. But all of you at home, united together, have very special strength in your hands. I only want to say to you: Use your strength, use whatever you can to work actively for peace and against war. As long as there is war, science will never be free. Are we scientists going to spend our lives in slavery for madmen who want to destroy the world?

"At home, one gets frightened. Listening to so much war talk, one begins to believe that if we do not prepare for war the other side will and then we will be destroyed. But not I. I have been living on the other side for some time and know for sure that this is a lot of lies, and that China wants peace with all she has. She will never attack America, nor will any of her allies. If you people would only believe this, if you could only see for yourselves as I am seeing, I am sure you would not hestitate for a minute to work for peace with every ounce of

strength you have.'

Mr. Carpenter. Did you know Agnes Smedley?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you attend the funeral?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you associated with her in any way in China? Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that.

Mr. Carpenter. Was she a notorious Communist?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer. The CHAIRMAN. Same record.

I want to instruct the staff to try to obtain the signed copy of the original of the oath on the matter of the passport to Prague.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you spend some time in Poland on this trip?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Same record. Show that the witness confers with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I have never been in Poland that I can recall. I certainly wasn't in Poland on this trip. Years ago I passed through Poland, but on this trip, no.

Mr. Carpenter. I have just received a radio from Robert Oppen-

heimer, which reads as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. The cablegram?

You may read it.

Mr. Carpenter (reading):

Joan Hinton was a staff member of the Los Alamos Laboratory when I was its Director. She worked in one of the groups of the Physics Division. I would have written her a letter of appreciation after the war, as I did all members of laboratory. I recall no other recommendation for followship or position nor serving as character witness on any occasion. She probably called at our home in Los Alamos infrequently. We gave her mother the use of our Upper Pecos Ranch in our absence some weeks one summer, probably 1945. Joan Ilinton probably visited there then in our absence. She was not my guest at Alamogordo, but may have been a member of the team that worked there. I do not recall this. Do not believe I have seen her article in People's China or know its contents. Have not been in communication with Joan Hinton since she left for China. Should add that if asked to recommend Joan Hinton in 1945 would have known no reason not to.

ROBERT OPPENHEIMER.

I will ask that that go in the record.

The Chairman. It will go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The telegram referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 433" and is as follows:)

Ехнівіт №. 433

Christiansted, V. I., July 27, 1954.

ALVA C. CARPENTER,

Counsel, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Joan Hinton was a staff member of the Los Alamos Laboratory when I was its Director. She worked in one of the groups of the Physics Division. I would have written her a letter of appreciation after the war, as I did all members of laboratory. I recall no other recommendation for fellowship or position, nor serving as character witness on any occasion. She probably called at our home in Los Alamos infrequently. We gave her mother the use of our Upper Pecos Ranch in our absence some weeks one summer, probably 1945. Joan Hinton probably visited there then in our absence. She was not my guest at Alamogordo, but may have been a member of the team that worked there. I do not recall this. Do not believe I have seen her article in People's China or know its contents. Have not been in communication with Joan Hinton since she left for China. Should add that if asked to recommend Joan Hinton in 1945 would have known no reason not to.

ROBERT OPPENHEIMER.

Mr. Carpenter. I have a letter here from the United States Atomic Energy Commission, addressed to Mr. Benjamin Mandel, dated July 26, 1954. I would like for this to be made a part of the record.

This is in reply to your letter of July 23, 1954, which asked that we furnish the service record of Joan Hinton at the Los Alamos project and advise on the extent to which she had access to classified information.

Manhattan engineer district records show that Hinton worked as a research assistant at Los Alamos from February 1944 to December 1945. Most of her work at Los Alamos was in the development of the water boiler, a low-power reactor which has since been declassified. She participated in critical assembly weapon work and attended weekly scientific colloquia, which gave her access to other classified information.

Records show that Hinton enrolled as a student at the University of Chicago in March 1946 and terminated at the end of the 1948 winter quarter. From April 1946 to July, 1947 she was a part-time assistant to Dr. Samuel K. Allison of the Institute of Nuclear Studies.

Joan Hinton has never had AEC security clearance and did not have access to classified information after she left Los Alamos at the end of 1945. She has never been employed by the AEC or its contractors.

Sincerely yours,

R. W. Cook (For K. D. Nichols, General Manager).

The Chairman. Do you not think it is rather strange, Mr. Hinton. that your sister, with all this scientific background and experience, would be working on a dairy farm in Communist China at this time?

Mr. Hinton. Mr. Chairman, I think that you invited me here to ask me about my experiences in China. I came 3,000 miles at the taxpayers' expense. And it seems that this turns out that you are conducting an investigation about my sister and trying to get me to use against my sister.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hinton, we think it would be very valuable to this committee—this committee is charged with a duty. We are known as the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate. That is part of our

responsibility.

Now, you have knowledge, I feel, that you are not giving us. You said awhile ago that you were a good, loyal American. Why do you not help this committee?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. I am here to answer all proper questions, and that is

all I will do.

The Chairman. Well, is it a proper question for this committee to inquire why your sister, if you know, who had this vast experience in research in the Los Alamos project, a very sensitive project in this country, would now be devoting her work to a dairy farm in Communist China? Is that a proper question?

Mr. Hinton. I have told you that that is her work, and I am cer-

tainly sure that that is what she is doing.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. CARPENTER. How did she get to China?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. You refuse to answer how your sister Joan got to China?

Mr. Hinton. On the same grounds.

Mr. Carpenter. I have here a letter to Miss Joan Hinton from Gerald Tannebaum, executive director of the Chinese Welfare Fund.

I would like for this to be made part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Read it. Mr. Carpenter (reading):

This is to notify you that you have been hired as fieldworker to the welfare work of the China Welfare Fund. We would like you to arrive in China to take up your duties as soon as possible.

The China Welfare Fund will be responsible for your housing while you are

in China.

The Chairman. That may go into the record and become part of

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 434" and is as follows:)

Ехнівіт №, 434

CHINA WELFARE FUND, Shanghai, December' 12, 1947.

Miss Joan Hinton,

Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MISS HINTON: This is to notify you that you have been hired as fieldworker to the Welfare work of the China Welfare Fund. We would like you to arrive in China to take up your duties as soon as possible.

The China Welfare Fund will be responsible for your housing while you are in China.

Very sincerely yours.

GERALD TANNEBAUM, Executive Director.

Senator Welker. Who signed it?

The CHAIRMAN. It is signed by Gerald Tannebaum, dated December 12, 1947.

Mr. Carpenter. Did Gerald Tannebaum invite you to China?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same ground.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Mandel, will you characterize the Chinese Welfare Fund?

Mr. Mandel. I will read an excerpt from a letter of the China Welfare Appeal, which says:

DEAR FRIEND: The China Welfare Appeal, which supports hospitals, schools, nurseries, and numerous cultural and educational projects in China, is going to send a special token of friendship to the Chinese people at this time in the form of hospital supplies. A gift will be sent through the China Welfare Fund, of which Madame Sun Yat Sen is the chairman in China.

On April 1, 1954, the Attorney General cited the China Welfare Appeal, Inc., as subversive.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hinton, how long were you with the Putney School in Putney, Vt.?

Mr. Hinton. Could I hear that again?

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you with the Putney School at Putney, Vt.?

Mr. Hinton. I was employed there at two different times, each

time for about a year.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

The Chairman. Were you employed by the board of trustees? Mr. Hinton. I don't remember how the employment—or even whether there was a board of trustees at that time. I was employed as farm manager.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone inquire as to your beliefs, whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party while you were em-

ployed at the Putney School?

Mr. HINTON. I certainly doubt that anyone made such inquiries.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. Hinton. I doubt very much whether anyone made such inquiries.

The Charman. Did you know Owen Lattimore?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't he a member of the board of trustees of that school?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same grounds. The Chairman. Does your mother operate that school?

Mr. Hinton. My mother is the director of the Putney School.

The Charman. Any further questions?

Mr. Carpenter. Your mother was the founder of that school; was she not?

Mr. Hinton. The founder and director.

Mr. Carpenter. How did you get to China on your last trip? Was

that at the taxpayers' expense?

Mr. Hinton. I was employed by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration as a member of the Volunteer Unit, which was recruited by the Brethren Service Commission. As I previously said, I was a volunteer. I got only my expenses. I went out to China to do agricultural work.

Mr. Carpenter. Who paid your passage over?

Mr. Hinton. As far as I know, the UNRRA agency did.

Mr. Carpenter. Since your return from China in 1953, have you been in contact with officials of the farmers union?

(Mr. Hinton conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness, before responding to the question, confers with his counsel.

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the fifth amendment, on the ground that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. Hinton. Under the fifth amendment.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you had any connection with the educational program of the National Farmers Union?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.) The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Senator Welker. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make this observation. On the matter of holding hearings and the fair ethics of congressional committees, I think it should be said that this committee has been eminently fair to the witness, in that I cannot recall any question of any substance that he has answered without leaning over and talking at length with his counsel. That is something that you have said heretofore would never be permitted in a court of law, and, of course, the chairman has also stated that he wants to be fair to the witnesses. But in view of the fact of this crusade for a code of fair ethics, I thought that I would like to make that remark for the record, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your observation is well taken.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you ever made any speeches at meetings held under the auspices of the National Farmers Union?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same ground.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you ever been in contact with the director of the educational program of the National Farmers Union?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you been in contact with James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You will not answer that question?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you been in contact with Lem Harris, member of the National Farmers Union?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get the question? Have you been in contract with Lem Harris?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Senator Welker. You were in contact, though, with the research director of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate? Or do you want to take the fifth amendment on that?

Mr. Hinton. Who is that?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mandel. Did you confer with this gentleman? Senator Welker. The people who communicated with you and asked you to appear here and asked you to appear here in a letter, as you have indicated.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. Yes; I spoke to him over the phone. I wasn't aware that he was the research director.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were at school at Harvard and Cornell?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same ground.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you attended the Putney School?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer, on the same ground.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you worked for the Putney School?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were employed by the Putney School?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Senator Welker. Are you a member of the Communist Party as of this moment?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you ever engaged in espionage while a member of the Communist Party?

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

Mr. Hinton. As for the question about the Communist Party, the answer is the same. As to whether I ever engaged in espionage, that certainly is a very serious charge. Do you mean that you have a charge of that kind against me?

The Chairman. This committee makes no charges, sir. We only seek information about the internal security of this country as a basis on which to pass legislation to protect the security of this country.

We are not making any charges.

Can you answer the question, or not?

Mr. Hinton. I just want to make it clear that that is a pretty serious charge.

The CHAIRMAN. It certainly is a serious charge.

Mr. Hinton. Of course I have never engaged in espionage.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you ever engaged in research for members of the Communist Party?

Mr. Hinton. Same answer.

The Chairman. Same answer as what? The last answer?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer.

The Chairman. You mean your answer would tend to incriminate you, and you decline under the fifth amendment?

Mr. Hinton. I decline under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Do you have any other matters that you would like to put into the record at this time?

If not, it can be done at a later time in executive session.

Senator Welker?

Senator Welker. I do want to insist that the witness read the article printed in the People's Daily World and then say, under oath, whether or not that is his article or whether it is not, and if there are any portions that are not of his writing, I want him so to testify and indicate to the staff those portions.

The Chairman. I did not get the question. I am sorry.

Senator Welker. I asked that the witness be required to read the article appearing under his byline in the People's Daily World, and if it is not his article, I want him to so point out.

The Chairman. All right. Pass it over to the witness. We are

in public session now, and this is the time to do it.

(Mr. Hinton confers with his counsel.)

The Chairman. I want to state for the record now that I would like for the staff to look into the testimony of this witness. I would like to know how he obtained a passport to Prague, and many other questions concerning his affidavits, and so forth, and this oath that he took in order to secure passports.

And I will ask the staff to communicate with the proper officials of the Federal Government to ascertain the facts and report back to

this committee.

I might state also for the record that the committee has tried to contact Jean Hinton, and we have not been able to as yet. I also want to state publicly that this committee would welcome the testimony of Jean Hinton at any time that she could appear before us.

Mr. Hinton, we have another committee meeting. I would like to

conclude this.

Have you satisfied yourself that this is your article yet?

Mr. Hinton. Well, I haven't been able to finish it, but I think I could answer to this extent, that it certainly appears to be, in the main, an article which I wrote. I can't vouch for the whole of it, since my own copy of this material was seized.

The Chairman. In order to ascertain whether it is an exact copy, we would have to get your original copy and proofread it back against

that; so we will not go to that trouble.

I think you have satisfactorily answered the question.

Mr. Carpenter. Are there any passages there that you object to? Mr. Hinton. No.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing there that you object to.

If there are no further questions, we will stand in recess, and I will ask the room to be cleared. We will go into executive session.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m., the hearing was recessed, and the com-

mittee continued in executive session.)

(At an open hearing on September 28, 1954, the following record

was made:)

Mr. Carpenter. At the close of the hearing on July 27, 1954, with William Hinton, Mr. Chairman, you instructed the staff to make attempts to get a copy of the application for passport that Mr. Hinton had submitted at Prague. We have that and we would like at this time that it be entered and made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be inserted in the record and made a part of the record at the proper place.
(The material was marked "Exhibit No. 434-B" and here follows:)

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INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1954

UNITED STATES SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE Administration of the Internal Security ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY. Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 1:15 p. m., pursuant to call, in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner and Johnston.

Also present: Alva C. Carpenter, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Dr. Edna Fluegel, Robert C. McManus, and Louis R. Colombo, professional staff members.

The Charman. The committee will come to order.

Two months ago, one William H. Hinton appeared before the Subcommittee on Internal Security. Hinton is a former American newspaperman. He had been farm manager for the Putney School at Putney, Vt. Toward the end of World War II, he was sent to China by the Office of War Information. He returned to the United States in the spring of 1946 and was organizer for the National Farmers Union. He went back to China as an official of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in 1947. When the Moscow-armed Chinese Communists took over the Chinese mainland in the fall of 1949, this man Hinton remained as an employee of the Communist

He returned to the United States in August 1953, after a stopover in Moscow. Since his arrival in this country, he has been propagandizing on behalf of the brainwashing, soul-killing Red Chinese, whose soldiers were torturing and slaying H nton's fellow Americans at the

very moment he was on Red China's payroll.

The Subcommittee on Internal Security never scrutinizes participants in the Communist world conspiracy as mere individuals. None of them are mere individuals. They are cogs in a machine, threads in a fabric, figures in a pattern. It is the machine, the fabric, the pattern which we always seek to uncover and explain to the American people. So we looked at the pattern around William Hinton. Here is what we

To begin with, there is his family. One sister, Jean, was a friend of the notorious Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and worked under him at the old Farm Security Administration. Another sister, Joan, was an atomic research assistant at the Los Alamos project, where she had access to classified material. Like her brother, William, Joan also went to China and stayed there after the Communist triumph. She got a job through another American, Gerald Tannebaum, who was executive director of the China Welfare Fund headed by Mme. Sun Yat-sen. We shall hear more about Tannebaum, the China Welfare Fund, and Mme. Sun as these hearings progress. In China, Joan married Erwin Engst, who was also an old UNRRA man. Today the Engsts are somewhere in the depths of Inner Mongolia, serving the Communist cause. Joan came out of obscurity long enough to make a bitterly anti-American speech at the Communist-inspired fraud known as the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, regarding which the subcommittee also expects to reveal a great deal.

The Putney School, which is run by William Hinton's mother and where he himself was employed, is a story in itself. One of its faculty members was Edwin S. Smith. Smith later became a registered propagandist for the Soviet Government. He distributed photographs attempting to prove that the United States practiced germ warfare in North Korea. Another person closely associated with Putney was Owen Lattimore. The subcommittee found, after a 15-month inquiry, that Lattimore was a "conscious, articulate instrument

of the Soviet conspiracy."

Lattimore built the Pacific Operations Branch of OWI, for which Hinton later worked in Chungking. John K. Fairbank was at the top of OWI's Chinese organization. Benjamin Kizer ran the Chinese

branch of UNRRA for which Hinton also worked.

Lattimore, Fairbank, and Kizer all were key figures in the Institute of Pacific Relations. All three were named as Communists in sworn testimony before us. All three denied the charge, but when counsel for the subcommittee asked Hinton about his connections with Lattimore and Kizer, he said it might incriminate him to give a true answer

to the question.

It was extremely interesting to learn that Hinton went on duty in Chungking at the end of World War II. He had some strange predecessors. There were, for instance, the political advisers assigned by the State Department to Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, who was chief of staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek after the removal of General Stilwell. This choice little State Department group included John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies, Raymond Ludden, and John K. Emmerson.

"If I had followed their advice," General Wedemeyer said in testimony before the subcommittee, "communism would have run rampant

over China much more rapidly than it did."

Gen. Claire Chennault, who saw this group in action, told our subcommittee that its members "functioned as a public-relations bureau for the Yenan Communists."

Here is another comment about them:

Throughout the fateful years in China, the American representatives there actively favored the Chinese Communists. They also contributed to the weakness, both political and military, of the National Government. And in the end they came close to offering China up to the Communists, like a trussed bird on a platter, over 4 years before the eventual Communist triumph.

Those are the words of Joseph Alsop, Jr., in an article in the Saturday Evening Post of January 7, 1950.

John Carter Vincent was on duty at Chungking during part of the

war period. So was Solomon Adler.

The Loyalty Review Board found that there is a "reasonable doubt" about Vincent's loyalty to the United States. As for Adler, he was the chief Communist agent in China of Harry Dexter White.

Davies, in the unanimous opinion of the subcommittee, "testified falsely" when he appeared before us in 1952. According to Joseph

Alsop:

John P. Davies, Jr., once seriously accused the Generalissimo of traffic with the Japanese on the odd authority of the vice chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, Chou En-lai.

So that is a picture of the original American group in Chungking.

which cleared the path for the ultimate Communist victory.

What other Americans replaced them? Where are they now? What are they doing to aid and comfort the bloody cause of Red China? Who else and what else is in this pattern around William Hinton? What can we do to rip it apart? These were the obvious questions which confronted the subcommittee after Hinton appeared before us. These are the questions that must be answered, for the sake of America's safety.

We start giving the answers in today's hearing. They are shocking and sordid, even in this, the most sordid era in the whole history of

our country.

The story has several parts. It begins slowly, as the members of this group assemble in the Far East. Like their predecessors from the State and Treasury Departments, most of them got there at the expense of the American taxpayer. One served in the Information and Education Branch of the United States Army. The subcommittee has already shown that I. and E. was grievously penetrated by underground Communists during World War II.

One was in the United States Information Service. One was a newspaperman and broadcaster. Others were part of the IPR apparatus which, as we revealed in a previous investigation, was used by the Communist world conspiracy as an international cover shop. Still others, like Hinton, worked for OWI or UNRRA or the United

Nations Children's Emergency Fund.

They formed a little cluster in Shanghai around a once honorable publication, The China Weekly, later Monthly Review. At their center is Mme. Sun Yat-sen, one of the world symbols of Chinese communism. The China Review became the instrument by which they advertised and brazenly proclaimed devotion to Red China. In a few moments we will be told by the widow of an American prisoner of war, and by some former prisoners themselves, how devices were created to bring the poisonous lies of the China Review back into the United States.

The group formed another little cluster in Peiping in 1952 when the international Communist conspiracy rigged up another of its familiar, and utterly false, peace conferences. To that conference came so-called delegates from the United States itself. The record will show their activities, too.

Directly after the Korean armistice, some of the members of this group started slipping back home. One, Hinton, came through Mos-

cow. Another took off from Calcutta. Still others passed through Hong Kong. Since their return, as we will show, they have raised

Red China's banner at every opportunity.

Today's hearing will be devoted to the China Monthly Review, and particularly the activities of its editor, John W. Powell. Later hearings will examine other aspects of the overall pattern.

Call the first witness.

Mr. Carpenter. Mrs. Gill.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please stand and hold up your right hand. Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. Gill., I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. DOLORES GILL, KANSAS CITY, MO.

The CHAIRMAN. State your full name to the committee.

Mrs. Gill. Dolores Holmes Gill.

The Chairman. Where do you reside?

Mrs. Gill. Kansas City, Mo.

The Chairman. What is your address?

Mrs. Gill. 7418 Jefferson.

The Chairman. And what is your business?

Mrs. Gill. Linoleum and wall tile.

Mr. Carpenter. What is your marital status?

Mrs. Gill. I am a widow of a man who died a prisoner of war.

Mr. Carpenter. What was your husband's name?

Mrs. Gill. 2d Lt. Charles L. Gill.

Mr. Carpenter. And what organization of the Armed Forces was he in?

Mrs. Gill. Eighth Regiment, First Cavalry Division.

Mr. Carpenter. You say he was a prisoner of war during the Korean war?

Mrs. Gill. That is true.

Mr. Carpenter. When was he taken prisoner of war?

Mrs. Gill. November 2, 1950, when he was reported missing in action.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you hear from him while he was a prisoner of war?

Mrs. Gill. Yes. On February 27, 1951, I received a letter from him written after he had been captured by the Chinese.

Mr. Carpenter. How did you receive this letter?

Mrs. Gill. Now on February 27, his letter was finally received by me. On January 9, 1951, through an Associated Press dispatch I received word he had made a radio broadcast over Peiping radio.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you hear that broadcast?

Mrs. Gill. No, I did not. That was picked up through a British station and transferred on into the Associated Press.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you have any prior knowledge of your hus-

band's letter before you received it?

Mrs. Gill. Yes, I did. Now through that Associated Press dispatch they transmitted the whole letter. Then I received a letter from John Powell who sent me a copy of the letter published in his paper.

Mr. CARPENTER. Do you have that letter with you?

Mrs. Gill. No. I have a copy of the letter as it was constantly reprinted in the various Communist publications.

Mr. Carpenter. But you have the letter from John Powell?

Mrs. Gill. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. May we have that?

Mrs. Gill. Yes.

This is the first letter. In it are clippings from his paper.

Mr. Carpenter. I have a letter here, and the envelope shows "China Weekly Review, 160 Chungking Road East, Shanghai, China—airmail—To Mrs. Charles L. Gill, 7418 Jefferson Street, Kausas City 5, Mo."

This is the mail you received in the course of the post?

Mrs. Gill. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the envelope the letter came in?

Mrs. Gill. Yes; and those clippings were in the envelope.

Mr. CARPENTER. I would like to read this letter.

The Charman. Proceed.

Mr. Carpenter. China Monthly Review, cable address: Reviewing Shanghai. John W. Powell, editor and publisher, dated January 10, 1951. Address, 160 Yenan Road, Shanghai. Telephone, 14772. Addressed to Mrs. Charles L. Gill, 7418 Jefferson Street, Kansas City 5, Mo.:

DEAR MRS. GILL: Perhaps you have already received the original copy of your husband's letter to you, but as a fellow Missourian I wanted to make sure that you saw it and in good time. We know from the clippings and magazines we receive from home that there has been little, if any, news on the American POW's except for fabricated atrocity stories, and we felt the enclosed clippings from the local papers here might give you some reassurance.

From our own personal observation of the action of the Chinese People's Government here in Shanghai, we know it is the policy to treat all prisoners—captured Kuomintang soldiers as well as criminals—with the greatest leniency and fairness in order to win over their support, and we are sure this is the same policy being carried out by the Chinese volunteers in Korea. This accounts for the numerous statements of gratitude and expressions of good will by the Amer-

ican POW's which appear in our local newspapers almost daily.

In addition, there have been several demonstration groups of American and British POW's demanding the end of the "dirty war," for after they have seen the hatred of the Korean people against the Syngman Rhee government and the help being given by the Americans for that hated clique, they cannot help but feel this has all been one tragic mistake. We imagine many people in America must feel the same way, also.

We should have sent the enclosed clippings of a letter to Mrs. Foss before, but we did not think of it at the time. Perhaps you would be kind enough to send it on to her. If you would like us to send any further clippings about the POW's or the news on Korea that appears in our local press, please feel free to write us.

Very sincerely,

Signature, John W. Powell; typed John W. Powell. Enclosures. These [clippings] are the enclosures to that letter; is that right? Mrs. Gill. That is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. And you received that in the normal course of the post from John W. Powell?

Mrs. Gill: That is right.

Mr. CARPENTER. I would like to enter this and make it part of the record, this letter with the clippings.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the

record.

(The document was read in full above by Mr. Carpenter. A reproduction appears at p. 1328.)

Mr. Carpenter. Do you know how your husband was treated in a prisoner-of-war camp?

Mrs. Gill. He died of malnutrition and dysentery.

Mr. Carpenter. From whom did you get that information?

Mrs. Gill. From a friend of his who had been with him in the camp

who was released last September.

Mr. Carpenter. Now, Mrs. Gill, after receiving this letter from John W. Powell, did you receive any further communication from

John W. Powell?

Mrs. Gill. Yes; a few days later he sent me a letter asking me to contact a Mrs. Eliott. In that he enclosed a clipping, too.

Mr. CARPENTER. May we have the letter, please?

Mrs. Gill. Yes.

Mr. CARPENTER. Here is a letter and the envelope which states:

Air by Par Avion, China Monthly Review, 160 Yenan Road, East, Shanghai Zero, China. Mrs. Charles L. Gill, 7418 Jefferson Street, Kansas City 5, Mo., U. S. A.

The letter follows: China Monthly Review, John W. Powell, editor and publisher, dated January 15, 1951. Mrs. Charles L. Gill, 7418 Jefferson Street, Kansas City 5, Mo.

Dear Mrs. Gill: The enclosed clipping appeared in one of our recent papers. I had never heard of Baden, Mo., and thought it might be a misprint of some sort. I have no way of checking here and was wondering if you could look it up and see if there were any place that resembles it and send this clip on to Mrs. Eliott.

In this coming issue of the Review we are carrying a roundup of the statements by the POWs and the other events in Korea. If you would like to see a complimentary copy, please let us know and we shall be glad to send one to you.

Very sincerely,

(Signed) John W. Powell. (Typed) John W. Powell.

Enclosures.

I would like to have this entered into the record.

The Chairman. It may go into the record, and also the enclosures, and become a part of the record.

(The document was read in full above by Mr. Carpenter. A repro-

duction appears at p. 1829.)

Mr. CARPENTER. In addition to these various letters from Mr. Powell, did you receive any other letters relative to your husband?

Mrs. Gill. Yes. During the following spring I received several letters from readers of the National Guardian here who had sent me copies of the clipping that was published in that paper. I believe it appeared in the March 7, 1951, copy. During this same spring, 1951, Mr. Cedric Belfrage, who was at that time editor of the National Guardian, sent me a copy of the National Guardian, and with that a note enclosed saying they were trying to get more information on the men who were prisoners. At that time he said he would, if I would write, be very glad to forward any other information they were able to find at the time.

Mr. Carpenter. Any other papers of the National Guardian?

Mrs. Gill. Then I received some other literature that was definitely Communist literature. One pamphlet did come from Prague, Czechoslovakia. "It Was Out of Their Own Mouths," I believe is the title of it. In that were supposedly signed confessions from various members of the Armed Forces of the United States Army

who had been held prisoner in Korea. None of these signed state-

ments were signed, however, in this book.

In another pamphlet I received there were statements supposedly made by members of the armed services. These men did include their names and serial numbers.

I have also received some literature from St. Louis or Missouri Peace Committee, which is in St. Louis, Mo. I am still on their

mailing list.

Mr. Carrenter. In other words, you have received mail from all over the United States and even from various parts of the world about the treatment of prisoners of war in China or in Korea; is that

 ${f right}$?

Mrs. Gill. That is right. I have in my possession some letters from Germany that were taken from—actually, they would be from the German equivalent of the Daily Worker. Then I have a copy of a clipping sent me from a man in Glasgow, Scotland, taken from the British Daily Worker. In these they have shown the letter written by my husband and have included some of their own ideas on the subject, mainly, which I am supposed to appreciate, the fact that I heard from my husband. Yet they were trying to bring out the fact that, although I had heard, there were so many Korean wives who had not heard. So I was supposed to appreciate that fact.

This literature ceased.

The Chairman. What was the tenor of their comments accom-

panying the publication of your husband's letter?

Mrs. Gill. It was the idea he had said he intended to be home, and I was supposed to appreciate the fact that he thought he would be home. In these letters they mentioned special terms such as "Mad MacArthur," "Fabricated atrocities," and "Wall Street minions." They continually referred to the fact that the Korean war was supposed to have been drafted in Wall Street, while those same remarks that were in these letters that made the letters seem so stereotyped were the remarks that were taken from copies of the National Guardian, from the China Monthly Review. Actually, they sounded like someone had picked certain phrases and repeated them parrot fashion.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you have those documents with you and those

letters?

Mrs. Gill. Yes.

The Chairman. They will be incorporated into the record by reference.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you pass them up, please?

Here is a magazine titled "Shall Brothers Be?" Did you receive this as a part of the propaganda?

Mrs. Gill. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. It says, "An account written by American and British prisoners of war on their treatment in POW camps in Korea," published by the Chinese Peoples Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression.

Another one, "Stop the Killing in Korea" and "Prosperity Built

on Peace, Not War." Is that one of the articles you received?

Mrs. Gill. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. I have another document. It reads:

A call to mothers and fathers of Americans in Korea from the frontlines and prison camps and in hospitals: All patriotic Americans who have loved ones

In Korea, in uniform, or about to be drafted, come to a Midwest assembly, Saturday, October 25, 11 a. m., Springfield, Ill., Theater Guild Building, 101 East Lawrence, to save the lives of our sons and loved ones, to stir the conscience of America, and tell all public officials and all candidates for office we want an immediate end to this seuseless slaughter. This program will include the showing of the Quaker peace film, A Time for Greatness.

Did you receive that through the mail?

Mrs. Gill. Yes.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 458 (read in full above by Mr. Carpenter) and 458-A" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 458

a call to

Mothers, fathers of Americans in Korea, in the front lines, in prison camps and in hospitals . . .

All patriotic Americans who have loved ones in Korea, in uniform, or about to be drafted

come to an emergency MIDWEST ASSEMBLY

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 11 A.M.
IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
THEATRE GUILD BUILDING, 101 EAST LAWRENCE

To save the lives of our sons and loved ones; to stir the conscience of America; to tell all public officials and all candidates for office that we want an immediate end of the senseless slaughter

For a cease fire in Korea on both sides NOW!

Continue negotiations to settle remaining question of repatriation of prisoners.

The program will include the showing of the fine Quaker peace film "A Time for Greatness."

EXHIBIT No. 458-A

in the name of

20,716 martyred dead GI's

18,756 crippled, maimed, wounded GI's

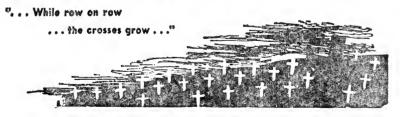
12,543 American GI's in Korean prison camps and missing

IN THE NAME OF MILLIONS OF AMERICAN YOUTH FACING A SIMILAR FATE

in the name of all America . . . an SOS assembly

sponsors of the SOS

Fill in This Credential Now and Mail Today



The Chairman. Before I said the letters she had received would go into the record by reference. I want those letters put into the record and become a part of the record. (The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 459 and 459-A" and are reproduced below:)

EXHIBIT No. 459

Cable Address:

REVIEWING SHANGHAF

JOHN W. POWELL Editor and Publisher

China monthly Review

Address: 160 YENAN ROAD E, SHANGHAI (0) TEL 14772 上発安末の一六〇日

January 10, 1951

Mrs. Charles L. Gill 7418 Jefferson St. Kansas City 5, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Gill:

Perhaps you have already received the original copy of your husband's letter to you, but as a fellow-Missourian I wanted to make sure you saw it and in good time.

We know from the clippings and magazines we receive from home that there has been little if any news on the American POWs except for fabricated atrocity stories and we felt the enclosed clippings from the local papers here might give you some reassurance.

From our own personal observation of the action of the chinese People's Government here in Shanghai, we know that it is the policy to treat all prisoners - captured Kuomintang soldiers as well as criminals - with the greatest leniency and fairness in order to win over their support, and we are sure this is the same policy being carried out by the Chinese volunteers in Korea. This accounts for the numerous statements of gratitude and expressions of goodwill by the American POWs which appear in our local papers almost daily. In addition, there have been several demonstrations by large groups of American and British POWs demanding the end of the "dirty war," for after they have seen the hatred of the Korean people against the Syngman Rhee government and the help being given by the Americans for that hated clique, they cannot help but feel this has all been one tragic mistake. We imagine many people in America must feel this way also.

We should have sent the enclosed clipping of a letter to Mrs. Foss before, but did not think of it at the time. Perhaps you will be kind enough to send it on to her.

If you would like us to send any further clippings about the POWs or the news on Korea that appears in our local press, please feel free to write us.

very sincerely,

John W. Powell

Enclosures

Cable Address:

***REVIEWDIG SHAMOHAP*

JOHN W. POWELL

Editor and Publisher

China menthly Review

Address: 160 YEMAN BOAD E, SHAHOMAI (0) TEL 14772 2月日安京年一六〇世

January 15, 1951

Mrs. Cherles L. Gill 7418 Jefferson St. Kansas City 5, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Gill:

The enclosed clipping appeared in one of our recent papers. I had never heard of Vaiden, Mo. and thought it might be a misprint of some sort. I have no way of checking here and was wondering if you could look it up and see if there's any place that resembles it and then send the clip on to Mrs. Elliott.

In this coming issue of the REVIEW we are carrying a round-up of the statements by the American POWs and other events in Korea. If you'd like to see a complimentary copy, please let us know and we shall be glad to send one on to you.

Very sincerely,

w wowelf

John W. Powell

Enclosure

Mr. Carpenter. Mrs. Gill, when did you first learn of your hus-

band's passing away?

Mrs. Gill. I received word last July. That was my first official notice. It was the only notice I have ever had. At no time has his name ever been printed in any official list released by this Government. It did appear in one of those early copies of the China Monthly Review, and the letter appeared in the March 7, 1951, edition of the National Guardian. Other than that, I have had no information.

The Chairman. When did you learn of his passing away?

Mrs. Gill. That was it, July 1953.

The Chairman. Have you talked to any members of the Armed Forces about his last illness and time of his death?

Mrs. Gill. Yes. Last September, one of the men who was with him who was supposed to have buried him contacted me when released.

The CHAIRMAN. His name? Mrs. Gill. Sgt. Homer Harvey.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you ever talked with the doctor who treated him?

Mrs. Gill. No; I have not.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Mandel has something for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. Mandel. For the record it should be noted that Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson, both editors of the National Guardian, have invoked the fifth amendment in regard to their Communist affiliations when asked by the permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Government Operations, on May 14, 1953, and Cedric Belfrage is now the subject of deportation proceedings as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Carpenter. All your letters that you received concerning your husband from the National Guardian and Powell, all of them stated he was in good physical condition and would be home; is that right?

Mrs. Gill. That is right. They told me I could expect him.

Mr. Carpenter. They gave you no inkling he was ill or expected to die at any time?

Mrs. Gill. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mrs. Gill. You may stand aside.

Mr. Carpenter. Major Shadish, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn to testify. Do you solemnly swear the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM RAYMOND SHADISH, PHYSICIAN OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY, WALTER REED HOSPITAL

Major Shadish. I do.

The Chairman. Give your full name.
Major Shadish. William R. Shadish; William Raymond Shadish.

The Chairman. You may proceed, Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Carpenter. Major, what is your present occupation?

Major Shadish. I am a physician, United States Army, at the Walter Reed Army Hospital.

Mr. Carpenter. How long have you been a physician in the United States Army?

Major Shadish. Since July of 1949.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you give the committee a description of your

academic training?

Major Shadish. Yes, sir. Following high school I took my premedical training at the Syracuse University; took my medical training at the Long Island College of Medicine in Brooklyn, N. Y.; and took my internship at the Permanente Foundation Hospital in Oakland, Calif.

Mr. Carpenter. I wish you would please summarize your career briefly with the ranks and posts you have held in the Armed Forces.

Major Shadish. I was a first lieutenant while at the Permanente Hospital in the civilian training program of the United States Army. I was promoted to captain in June of 1950 and was sent to the Far Eastern Command the following month. That was in mid-July of 1950. In mid-August I was assigned to the Second Division in Korea.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you a prisoner of war in Korea? Major Shadish. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. When were you taken prisoner of war?

Major Shadish. I was taken prisoner on the 1st of July; 1st of December, sorry.

Mr. Carpenter. How long were you a prisoner of war?

Major Shadish. Thirty-three months.

Mr. Carpenter. Can you tell this committee what prisoner-of-war

camps you were in during your incarceration?

Major Shadish. I was in three permanent camps. The first camp was known to the prisoners as Death Valley. We believed it was in the town called Hofong.

Mr. Carpenter. Spell that.

Major Shadish. H-o-f-o-n-g. The second was camp No. 5 at Pyoktong, P-y-o-k-t-o-n-g. The third was camp No. 2 at Ping-Chon-Ni. P-i-n-g-C-h-o-n-N-i.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you give the committee a description of your experiences in the prisoner-of-war camps, mainly that part wherein the American prisoners of war were forced to be indoctrinated by

their captors?

Major Shadish. Forced indoctrination was practiced in the camps in which I was held. The first contact I had with the organized indoctrination was in March of 1951, at which time I came to camp No. 5. It was being practiced with all of the prisoners there. I was in the position of being the sick-call physician and therefore was exempt from this study program until July of 1951, at which time I was relieved of my duties as sick-call physician, sent to the officers' company. And from there, then until March of 1952 we had a continuous concentrated program.

The Chairman. Were the sick and wounded required to attend?
Major Shadish. The sick and wounded that were not in the hospital, and that was a larger number of men, were required to attend

regardless of their condition.

The program varied in time consumed, but would consume on the average about 6 hours a day of formal education. This was all indoctrination and outright Communist type of studies.

Mr. Carpenter. Can you tell the committee what material was

used in order to indoctrinate the prisoners of war?

Major Shadish. Yes, sir. We had a large assortment of material from which our lecturers would present their programs. Among them was this China Weekly and China Monthly Review. Also, the Shanghai News, the New York Daily Worker, the London Daily Worker, the San Francisco Peoples World, a magazine called Masses and Main Stream, another called Political Affairs, a large number of Chinese and Russian magazines, New Times from Russia, and Soviet literature from Russia.

There were a large number of books. William Z. Foster of the United States had a number of books in camp. Among them was his History of the Communist Party of the United States, his History of the Americas. There were a large number of books by Howard Fast. There were books by Russian authors such as Gorky, all of which had

the Communist theme as their center piece.

Mr. Carpenter. I call your attention to the easel over here at the side of the room. Are there reproductions of the China Monthly Review as you saw them in prisoner-of-war camps? Are those reasonable reproductions?

Major Shadish, Yes; they are.

Mr. Carpenter. You have seen these various magazines in the camp?

Major Shadish. I believe I have seen all of these before in the

camps.

Mr. Carpenter. Can you tell us how they used the China Monthly

Review in their propaganda activity?

Major Shadish. Yes, sir. The ordinary program for study was divided up among various types of approaches. There would be lectures by English-speaking Chinese, there would be discussion periods in which we were supposed to discuss various articles. Before these discussion periods various publications were distributed to each squad of men to read, and in these publications there would be articles marked with red crayon as required reading. Among the publications most commonly received was this China Monthly Review. Many of the articles were required to be read, and comment was required to be made upon it.

I would like to say there was no middle-of-the-road affair. The Communists did not practice that. We were told that you had one opinion. It had to be one side or the other side. If you did not comment for the article, you were against the article. Consequently, a large number of prisoners got into a great deal of trouble and a large number of the deaths were indirectly or directly responsible or occurred, rather, because of the difficulties starting over these articles.

The CHAIRMAN. What would happen to a man if he did not co-

operate, follow the line of the China Review?

Major Shadish. Anything which the Chinese would consider appropriate. It would begin with standing a man at attention on a block of ice for a large period of time, in which a number of men froze their feet or it would end up with a man being thrown in a hole in the ground with little or no food and no method of sanitation, not permitted out of the hole. And he would eventually contract double pneumonia in the cold moss and would die. It would vary from one end of the scale to the other.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you know who the editor was of the China

Monthly Review?

Major Shadish. It is on the front page of all of them as John W. Powell.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you describe the conduct of the school and the study classes conducted in the prison camps; that is, was attend-

ance compulsory?

Major Shadish. Yes; the attendance was compulsory. The Chinese would come to the various squad rooms and force the men to leave the squad rooms. If it required it, they would bring guards with bayonets to get the men out. That included the sick. We protested as much as we could, but it was to no avail. We were made to go to this one open area where we would be lectured to.

Mr. Carpenter. Tell us something about the transportation of this

propaganda into the camps. Did they come in large quantities?

Major Shadish. They certainly did. One thing which we felt very strongly about was the way they came. We were situated on the Yalu River and there was a small harbor at the town of Pyoktong. Into this harbor would come these large barges and they would be loaded every time. A portion of their load would be propaganda

material, including this China Monthly Review. They would bring in tons of this stuff at a time, and yet when we would ask them for more medication or one little bottle of sulfa which would cure a lot of men, we were told they had no means of transportation to bring this. But they always had the means of transportation to bring in this propaganda material. That was from the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your situation in regard to medication

for the American prisoners?

Major Shadish. Medication was not the main problem. We did not have any medications but we felt, we physicians felt that the main problem was food. If we could have sufficient food, we would not have needed those medications. Consequently, because we did not have food—we were on a starvation diet for at least the first 6 or 8 months, although, from there on, the diet improved. It was never adequate. Because of this, men were malnourished and were suffering from disease and had no resistance to any infection. When they did get an infection, it was a matter of a few days before they died. Not having any medications made it all the worse.

The CHARMAN. Did the Chinese have medication?

Major Shadish. Yes; they did. The Chinese during these early months had no physicians and asked me to treat their men. As a physician, I said I would. They had their own stock of supplies and they had all of the antibiotics and the necessary medications there to treat their men and more.

The Chairman. How about surgical instruments? What did you have for the American prisoners in the way of surgical instruments?

Major Shadish. We had no surgical instruments at first. Eventually we got an old scalpel and 1 or 2 hemostats. We made some scalpels and made a stethoscope.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to that time did the Chinese doctors perform

surgery on some of the American prisoners?

Major Shadish. Yes, sir. There was one case where a Korean physician came to our camp in about mid-January 1951, about 2 months after we were captured, a month and a half. He claimed to be a surgeon with 5 years' training. He said he would like to see any surgical cases we had. We had a large number of them. He picked four of these men to do surgery on. One of these men had a gangrenous thumb from a shrapnel wound and his thumb had to come off. This surgeon, as he called himself, took him to a room.

I asked to be allowed to go along. The man was given no anesthetic, although there was morphine available to them. This surgery was done in a very shocking manner to a surgeon. It was what we would call hacking. He took the man's thumb off. The man had a terrific amount of pain. We pleaded with him to give him something afterward. They dressed his hand, took him outside of a room, set

him on a chair.

There was a Chinese there with a Leica camera. He set the man down. The Korean then went in and put on a gown and mask and came out with a syringe and needle, a syringe which I had hoped was something for the man's pain. He stood beside this man, a Negro soldier. There is a picture of this in one of the Communist publications showing this physician standing by this Negro man with the syringe up against his arm ready to give an injection with print-

ing underneath saying something to the effect that here is a corps aid man treating an American prisoner.

The picture was taken. The man was shoved off the chair, not given

a shot, and told to go down to his room.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to the man?

Major Shadish. He died within 3 weeks from infection to that hand. The Chairman. You have seen that picture reproduced in the propaganda showing where they are giving aid to the American prisoners?

Major Shadish. Yes, sir. I recognize the man. The Chairman. Do you recall what publication you saw that pic-

ture reproduced in?

Major Shadish. It is a publication called POW's Calling, made up entirely of statements and experiences and a number of these petitions that were signed, supposedly voluntarily, by the prisoners.

The CHARMAN. Major, did you become acquainted with a Lieu-

tenant Gill while you were in one of these camps?

Major Shadish. Yes, sir; I did so.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us about your acquaintance with him and what happened to him?

Major Shadish. I hoped I could have talked to Mrs. Gill before,

but I haven't had the opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. We are sorry Mrs. Gill came in late and we had

an executive session and there was no opportunity for that.

Major Shadish. I first met Lieutenant Gill approximately the end of May of 1951. I was working as the camp physician and was separated from the rest of the camp, from the officers and from the enlisted men, except for the approximately 100 seriously ill and wounded prisoners in this compound. Lieutenant Gill was brought down about the end of May to the compound for the seriously ill. He was suffering from malnutrition, as were all the rest of the men, but he was also suffering from severe dysentery which increased the malnutrition.

He stayed in this compound until roughly the end of June, during which time his health deteriorated constantly. The food at that time was still a starvation diet and consisted mainly of rice, very little else.

I asked for medication to treat this man with, and I know the Chinese had the medication because as I say, I was also doing medicine for them. It was refused. They said they had none. I was able to get hold of some morphine which, although it is not the ideal treatment for diarrhea, is known to have an effect to counteract diarrhea. I used morphine—opium, rather, on Lieutenant Gill and it did relieve a lot of his symptoms. He became more ill until I persuaded them to send him to the main hospital compound about a mile from camp.

I had four enlisted men working with me, Americans, who the Chinese would have carry the seriously ill by litter. I was not permitted to go to the hospital. I was restricted to the compound. I instructed these men to check the hospital every day, find which of the men had left my compound and gotten to the hospital and died. Within 1 week after the time Lieutenant Gill was taken up to the hospital, these men came back and reported that Lieutenant Gill was

dead and they had seen his body.

Mr. Carpenter. I have here a document captioned "An Interview With Monica Felton—Stop the War." Monica Felton was a British

representative of the Women's International Democracy Federation and the group which investigated conditions in North Korea in 1951. Did you have any occasion to see Monica Felton while you were in a prisoner-of-war camp?

Major Shadish, No. sir. I never saw Monica Felton.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you read this document in the China Monthly Review of January 1953?

Major Shadish. Yes, I read the document. Mr. Carpenter. Mrs. Felton describes the housing of the POW's.

They sleep on mats on the floor with blankets and hard pillows. I think they keep warm in the winter because the homes have central heating. The winters are extremely cold but the men have quilted clothing.

Is that an accurate description?

Major Shadish. No, it was not an accurate description. She thought wrong. The houses in Korea, as you know, have the under-The only difficulty was that in all of our homes the-floor heating. the heating system was broken down, not repaired. We did not have the wood anyhow to build a fire, so it did not do us much good. The first winter was the hardest winter, in that we lost almost all of our men that died. We had no clothing, blankets, bedding issued to us that winter. We had nothing issued until the spring thaw, that following spring, 1951, at which time we no longer needed them.

Mr. Carpenter. In the issue of the China—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have something further to add?

Major Shadish. No, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. In the issue of the China Monthly Review of May 1951, there are four photographs of American POW's carrying overcoats, blankets, and towels. A quote from Clevenger says, "When Mom sees this, she need not worry about us in the cold." Are these truly representative of conditions in the POW's camps?

Major Shadish. They are not. They certainly are true photographs but the methods used to obtain these photographs are not

The pictures over here, we remember seeing those things and we were a little upset about it. You see a man holding a large hunk of meat in his hand with a smile on his face. If you have gone 6 months without seeing meat and someone hands you a large piece of meat and says, "This is going to be for you," I think every man would smile.

The thing they do not tell under that caption is, this was the first meat this man had in about 6 months, or maybe 4 months if he was lucky. The second thing is that that piece of meat would be 1 month's ration for approximately 500 men. That is a little bit when you look

Mr. Carpenter. Going back, Major, I have just now received a copy of American POW's Calling From Korea, and I have here a picture captioned "A Chinese Medical Orderly Dressing a Prisoner's Wounds." I will ask you if this is the picture you have just testified about in relation to medical treatment.

Major Shadish. Yes, sir. This is the picture that I was talking

about.

Mr. Carpenter. That is the same picture?

Major Shadish. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. You saw this picture taken?
Major Shadish. Yes, sir. I was there when that picture was taken. Mr. Carpenter. This is captioned "American POW's Appeal to the United Nations," and there is no——

The Charman. It will be incorporated into our record by reference.

Mr. Carpenter. You never saw Monica Felton?

Major Shadish. I never personally saw Monica Felton.

Mr. Carpenter. Did any of the prisoners of war with whom you came in contact ever tell you they had talked to her and had seen her there in camp?

Major Shadish. Some of the prisoners told me they had seen Monica

Felton.

Mr. Carpenter. In her article in the China Monthly Review, Mrs. Felton also says the POW's have organized ball teams, and there is fishing and swimming. Can you comment about that?

Major Shadish. Will you please repeat that?

The Chairman, Organized ball teams, and there was also swim-

ming and fishing.

Major Shadish. In the officer's camp there was swimming in a small stream which we dammed up, which left us an area about 10 feet in diameter and about 2 feet deep. The 150 to 300 officers there would use this for swimming. We had ball games. We started playing softball. All this happened after the negotiations began. I want to state we noticed all the way through that the only improvement that we ever did have began after the negotiations at Kaesong. The nearer we approached completion of negotiations, the better the treatment got.

Any setback in negotiations would find a corresponding setback in the treatment at the camp. When we started this softball, which I believe was the spring of 1952, we had to make our own baseballs and bats and gloves. The Chinese were opposed to it at first, because they felt there was some political meaning to this game of baseball, and it had to be explained thoroughly to them. They always explained to us everything has a political meaning, and they felt this had a political meaning. But all these sports were through the efforts of our senior officers, who constantly harassed the Chinese to get us something. It was not until well into 1952 before we did get any of it.

Mr. Carpenter. Major Shadish, can you tell how they prepared a prisoner of war to accept the indoctrination you are speaking about

here?

Major Shadish. Yes. The methods used appeared to be the same as that used anywhere by the Communists. The prisoner was first intentionally deprived of the necessary food, clothing, and shelter to sustain life at a healthy level. He was taken physically to a level which was bordering upon death, and there were a number of deaths. There was no idea in the prisoner's mind where he was standing. He was just a little bit away. Then the indoctrination teams and material would be brought into the camp. The men would be told that if they accepted indoctrination and did not resist that they were going to give a feast for us. The feast was rice, rice we had not seen up until then.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you fed?

Major Shadish. Cracked corn or whole corn or millet is about all we saw. It was painfully made clear to the prisoner that if he did not cooperate he would not only revert back to his old status but most probably below that. A prisoner after a while got to know if he were ill for any reason and could not eat his food for about 3 days, he would die. That was so. He had no reserve whatsoever, and I have seen a large number of men who through illness or some other cause would go off their food and they would die. This was made clear to the prisoners. As long as the prisoners cooperated without resisting too strongly, the food would stay at a level where all the men or practically all the men could live. As soon as resistance came up, conditions became worse.

Mr. Carpenter. Major Shadish, will you describe fully from your own personal knowledge and experience the treatment of POW's in

regard to letters to their loved ones?

Major Shadish. Yes, sir. There was a concentrated effort by the Communists to procure letters from the prisoners with political content. At the very first it was impossible to get a letter out of camp without political content. I remember an individual by the name of Shapiro who is a Caucasian. He posed as a correspondent for the London Daily Worker, came into Death Valley in January 1951 with the Chinese. He was armed. He had a camera. He was well fed. He supposedly came in to cover the situation, and all he did the entire time he was there was promote a petition and the signing of a petition and to promote the project of getting letters out, of political content.

At this time I have a letter which he sent out—I do not have it but it is printed in the Communist publications in which the quote from

me is in a letter to my wife:

Please use your influence to see that the war in Korea is settled peacefully and that all foreign troops are removed from Korea.

The story behind that is, first of all, I was seriously ill at the time. I was told by the other physicians in camp I was not going to live. I wanted to write a letter home, and Shapiro came around and said that we all could write a letter home. He gave us paper and we wrote. The letter was brought back to me by the Chinese and they said there was nothing in the letter for peace. They said there was no use for that

letter to go home. I couldn't get it home.

So another letter was brought up by Shapiro showing a form of how it should be written with all types of anti-American slogans in it. We all discussed this among ourselves and with the senior officers, and we decided we would all pick this one same phrase and include it in our letters. I chose to write home because I felt this was my last opportunity to talk to my wife. I wrote a long letter in which I told my wife how I felt about her and the children. The only part which appeared in the publication was the portion which they thought they could use. My wife never received that letter. That was the only thing I have about Mr. Shapiro.

Senator Johnston. But they did take that letter and publish it in

the newspapers?

Major Shadish. They published a quote from it.

Mr. Carpenter. In the China Monthly Review Mrs. Felton has stated that POW's got together and decided they wanted a peace organization and they asked permission of the Korean Government to get together with other POW camps on this subject:

They held general peace meetings with all camps participating, and they are now issuing a peace magazine. I talked with six American POW's and many British

prisoners who were active in the peace movement. They felt the majority of prisoners supported their views.

Is this an accurate statement of the facts?

Major Shadish. That is not. The Peace Committee, as I remember it, was formed somewhat like this: The Chinese came up to our compound and told us there was going to be a Peace Committee. And you would have members on this Peace Committee. They suggested we elect members. We refused to elect members, so they appointed members to the Peace Committee.

Eventually what happened to this Peace Committee, I do not know, but I know the members of the officers' compound refused to participate and participation was by appointment and was forced. I do not know of any case where prisoners went up to the Chinese and asked permission to form a Peace Committee. That is beyond my scope, and I

know a lot of prisoners who were over there.

Mr. Carpenter. What means were used to get these signatures?

Major Shadish. Various and sundry means; about the same type that were used to get attendance at the classes of indoctrination, all types of threats and carrying out of threats if the man persisted in not signing these things. I remember one group of men, one room of them that were presented with a petition to sign and refused. They were told if they did not sign this petition, all of their food rations would be cut out from that day on. And they were very sincere about it. So these men signed the petition. It was that type of thing.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you remember the occasion when the POW's were asked to send a New Year's greeting to Communist General Chu

Teh in 1952?

Major Shadish. That is right. At the officers' camp we were given printed cards that we could send home for New Year's. Most of us altered the cards. They all had "Peace" on them. Of course, we felt very bitterly at that time about the way the Communists felt about peace. We felt they were using it for propaganda only. We altered the cards as much as possible to eliminate any use of propaganda and thereby would sign them and send them home. I altered mine. Mine

didn't get home because it was altered, I suppose.

They came to us and told us they wanted us to sign a New Year's greeting to Chu Teh. We did not particularly want to give any New Year's greeting to Chu Teh and wish him good luck. We wished him just the opposite. They insisted. Eventually we talked them out of it. I know some of our senior officers shortly thereafter were taken over to the headquarters of the Chinese on a charge of attempting to form a group of men who would oppose indoctrination. One of the charges put out against them was they instigated against this good-will message and sabotaged the peace and good-will message to Chu Teh. They were punished by long terms of solitary imprisonment.

Mr. Carpenter. What can you tell us about this man Shapiro, his

activities?

Major Shadish. This man Shapiro, as I said before, posed as a correspondent for the London Daily Worker. He did no corresponding or no newspaper work in the camps as far as we could see. The only thing he came to Death Valley for was, first, to get a petition signed; and, two, to take these letters as propaganda material. When he got these two things he left.

I personally had asked him a number of times for his influence to get more medication and food and his contact with the outside to get the Red Cross in. He laughed in my face at this. He thought it was a big joke.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you know what nationality he was?

Major Shadash. He had a British accent, but it did not sound to me as though he were a native British subject. It sounded as though it was an acquired accent. He would not tell me what nationality he was.

Mr. Carpenter. In the China Monthly Review, Mrs. Felton says:

The POW camps were bombed by the American planes in spite of the fact that their locations were clearly marked by agreement between both sides.

Do you have any information on the bombing of prisoner-of-war

camps?

Major Shadish. Yes. These were a sore spot with us. I know that some of these articles came out, I am certain, in July of 1952, or earlier. Our prison camps were not marked until approximately September or later in 1952. All of these articles told how our camps were so well marked and yet our own planes were bombing our men, and this was all a lie. We did not have our camps marked. We asked a large number of times to let us mark our camps or to mark them in some manner and were told that if our camps were marked it would just allow our planes to come over and bomb them. They would know where they were. But they were not marked at the time a number of these articles were published.

Mr. Carpenter. Were these prisoner-of-war camps flanked by anti-

aircraft guns and military supplies?

Major Shadish. Not the camp I was in. The officers' camp was not surrounded by it, but there were camps which—particularly the sergeants' compound, Camp No. 4—had a large supply of foodstuffs and, as they found out later, American ammunition, when the American planes hit the place. It went up as an ammunition dump would go up outside of the camp. Around our camp they had no ammunition dump, although they did have a number of large warehouses filled with foodstuffs which were taken out constantly by truck. It was not used for us.

Mr. Carpenter. In the China Monthly Review, Mrs. Felton charges the United States with conducting germ warfare. Are you familiar

with the charge of germ warfare?

Major Shadish. I am familiar with the charge of it, and my impressions of the situation of course are limited because of my position at that time. But it was interesting in that we were given the opportunity to see the proof of germ warfare in—I cannot state the exact time. I think the spring of 1953 or the fall of 1952 a large building was erected near the officer's company in Camp 2, seemingly for the sole purpose of setting up this exhibit which consisted of about 1 or 2 large photographs.

These were placed in the room in a number of rows so parties could walk up and down these rows and view all the exhibits. All the prisoners were marched through here, and all the Chinese and Koreans were marched through here. Under these pictures were English and oriental inscriptions describing the subject. These were supposed to be pictures of proof which—well, one was the International Demo-

cratic Lawyers Guild and the other was a group of scientists and physicians who were supposed to have said that this was definite proof. We saw them and we considered it a ludicrous thing to have a picture of a dead rat lying in the snow. This was supposed to be proof this rat was dropped in Korea laden with germs.

Another picture, a casing of a shell. This is supposed to be proof germ bombs were dropped. I dare say we could do the same thing out here on the Capitol steps and have proof in the other direction.

We felt there was no basis to it.

Senator Johnston. Major, I believe that was in the China Monthly

Review, too, was it not?

Major Shadish. There were pictures of that in the China Monthly Review.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you tell us what you know about the voluntary character of the Chinese troops?

Major Shadish. What, sir?

Mr. Carpenter. The vountary character. In other words, they say

they were volunteers.

Major Shadish. We had opportunity to talk to some of these Chinese, and I purposely will not name them or locate them. Among their troops I have talked to some who have told me that they definitely were not volunteers. One man told me his battalion commander volunteered the battalion. That was the extent of it.

Another told me he had been serving with the Communist forces for a large number of years, wanted to get home but had not been home in all that time and he was made to come to Korea and that it was holding him up from going home again. It was that sort of thing. A number of them told us they were not volunteers.

The avid Communist would tell us, "Oh, yes; we are all volunteers. We volunteered to come here." But there were a few of them that

would tell us the true situation.

Mr. Carpenter. In the issue of July 1951 of the China Monthly Review, on page 20, it describes the broadcasts of American POW's

from Korea. Did you personally listen to these broadcasts?

Major Shadish. We had a loudspeaker system set up around our camp. The Chinese set it up. Over this was played recordings of these broadcasts. Also, to which their radio was connected and we would get radio Peiping intermittently as the political editorials would be to their liking and would also get some Chinese music occasionally.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you know how they were conducted?

Major Shadish. The broadcasts? I personally cannot state that. I don't know how they were conducted. I have my opinion but it is not factual so I will not state it.

Mr. Carpenter. In the issue of January 1952 of the China Monthly Review, pages 70 and 72, it describes Thanksgiving in a POW camp.

Do you have any recollection about that?

Major Shadish. That was 19——

Mr. Carpenter. 1952.

Major Shadish. What month?

Mr. Carpenter. January.

Major Shadish. That was describing, I imagine, the Thanksgiving of 1951. This was at the time the negotiations were beginning to

look fairly good. We were told by the Chinese things were going well and we may be home within several months. This time they brought a large amount of food, of meats, bread, candies, cigarettes, some saki—all kinds of things. They gave us a Thanksgiving party. It was fabulous to us at that time because we had not seen anything like it. Being back here at home it was not so hot. But the interesting thing about all that is this was a one-time affair. It happened on two Christmases and a Thanksgiving. It was interesting after this happened, the negotiations deteriorated. That is about January of 1952. It appeared to us after this, as after all the other ones, our rations for the next 3 months were cut into deeply to help pay for this feast which we had which was so widely publicized.

Mr. Carpenter. Major Shadish, in the issue of July 1952 of the China Monthly Review, it argues against the rights of Korean and Chinese war prisoners to voluntary repatriation. In this connection, pages 24 and 25 cite article 118 of the Geneva Conference as follows: "Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities." It quotes article 7, "that prisoners under no circumstances shall renounce in part or in entirety the rights secured by them by the present convention." Do you have any personal knowledge of how the Chinese Communists exploited

the provisions of the Geneva Convention?

Major Shadish. Yes. It appeared to us they were using the Geneva Convention any time they were attempting to press a point. However, in our camp we constantly referred to the Geneva Convention and were told every time that the Chinese do not recognize the Geneva Convention in any manner. We pointed out when they brought out this article about prisoners not being able to renounce any of their rights, we pointed out to them they were attempting—as a matter of fact, insisting that we were no longer members of the Armed Forces, we were liberated officers or liberated men, we were students and we were not members of the Armed Forces in any way. They attempted to make us feel this way.

We pointed out they could not do it because we could not renounce our right. Our right was to still be a soldier and still to have our own jurisdiction among ourselves, et cetera. But this made no impression whatsoever, although they used the same argument at

Kaesong.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you allowed to sing our American songs, our

national anthem?

Major Shadish. We were forbidden to sing the national anthem, although with a group of men it is impossible to keep it down all the time. It would break out here and there. Men would be punished as ringleaders on each one of these occasions. It was interesting, a number of hymns were forbidden because it was felt these hymns were national and political in character. And thereby the chaplain was called over and told we would not sing hymns in the services unless he wrote out each hymn to be sung in longhand and take it over to the Chinese for approval.

Mr. Carpenter. At this time I would like to enter into the record this copy of the China Monthly Review of January 1953, entitled

"An Interview with Monica Felton—Stop the War."

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become part of the record.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 460" and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 460

[From the China Monthly Review, January 1953]

AN INTERVIEW WITH MONICA FELTON

STOP THE WAR!

Monica Felton was the British representative of the Women's International Democratic Federation in the group which investigated conditions in North Korea in 1951. Returning to England, she made her findings known and took an active part in peace work. As a result, she was dismissed from her Government job as head of a town planning commission. Mrs. Felton, who was awarded a Stalin International Peace Prize, made a second visit to Korea in September

She was interviewed by the Review at the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held in Peking last October, which she attended as a specially invited guest. In the interview, Mrs. Felton describes her visit to a prisoner-of-war camp in North Korea and her impressions of the struggle being carried on by the Korean people.

Question. Mrs. Felton, we understand that you visited a prisoner-of-war camp

when you were in Korea. Could you tell us something about it?

Answer. Yes, I spent a short time at Camp No. 5, which is in an incredibly picturesque spot on the Yalu River, with high mountains behind it. We crossed the river by ferry to the camp and found that two-thirds of a village had been given over to it. POW headquarters was about a mile from the village. There was no barbed wire around the camp. The POW's were divided into sections-Americans, British, Colombian, Turkish, etc.—but all mixed freely in the village.

Question. We've received quite a few letters from families of American POW's and many of them ask about the living conditions at the camp. What was your

impression?

Answer. They live in Korean houses, quite primitive, but clean. They sleep on mats on the floor, with blanket and hard pillow; they told me it took a long time to get used to hard beds, but once used to it they found it adequate and good for their health. I think they keep warm in winter because the homes have a form of central heating. * * * Korea was the first country in the world to have it. The main part of the house is built up from the ground, while the kitchen is on a lower level, and the flues go under the rest of the house, keeping the floors warm. The winters are extremely cold, but the men have guilted clothing.

Question. Did the POW's say anything about the food?

Answer. Yes, indeed. They said there was plenty of it, but that it was getting boring. Some of the British POW's said they were sick of the sight of pork. The sugar ration is 1½ pounds per month for each man, and they also have a cigarette ration.

Question. What do they do all day to keep busy? Are there any facilities for

sports and recreation?

Answer. The POW's have organized ball teams, and there is fishing and swimming. Each camp has a library, with Mark Twain, Dickens, Soviet novels, and political literature. No compulsory political courses are given, but short talks, given by Chinese in good idiomatic English, on news items and general subjects are compulsory. A large Anglo-American study group has been organized, with courses on such subjects as public speaking and how to conduct meetings.

Question. What was your impression of the way the POW's are being treated? Answer. I found that the Chinese try very hard to meet reasonable requests. For example, I learned that many POW's didn't want to write their families because the envelopes had "Resist American Aggression" on them. I mentioned this to the Chinese, who thanked me, and the letters I received from POW's later came

in envelopes marked only "airmail."

Nearly all the POW's I met had been allowed to keep their personal possessions—watches, etc. Some described their march north to camp, when they were always given shelter, even though it meant turning Koreans out of their homes. * * * John Gaster, a British member of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, who visited a camp last spring, told the Chinese that they were doing too much for the prisoners, that Americans and British tend to look down upon people who serve them, and that they should make the POW's work for themselves. This summer I found that the American and British POW's were working, building their own clubhouse of materials supplied by the Chinese.

Question. How do the POW's you talked to feel about peace?

Answer. They have their own peace movement. It was started in the spring of last year, with an American officer as chairman and a British private as secretary. The POW's got together and decided they wanted a peace organization, and they asked permission of the Korean Government to meet with other POW camps on this subject. They held general peace meetings, with all camps participating, and they're now issuing a peace magazine.

I talked with six American POW's and many British prisoners who were active in the peace movement. They felt the majority of prisoners supported their views, and said they had learned from the Chinese how to analyze the objections of those who disagreed with them, and now they had a much better

relationship with them.

Question. Do they know about the truce talks? What do they feel about

them:

Answer. Yes, indeed, they know. They follow the progress of the talks very closely and they felt that they were plony and the United States was at fault for not reaching agreement long before this. All the POW's I talked to were convinced that the war had been started by the United States and South Korea. And their attitude toward the United States election campaign seemed to be that "one side's as bad as the other."

Question. Did the POW's have any complaints?

Answer. Yes; they complained about their mail. Before, all their letters had been sent through the China Peace Committee, and although mail was slow, it did get through. But now they said that all mail went via the truce negotiators and they felt that it wasn't getting through. I had talked with the mother of a British POW in England, who told me that she was regularly sending clippings to her son; but when I met him in camp, he said he had never received any of them * * *. The British POW's particularly resent their mail being stamped "U. S. Army P. O." From several of them I got a list of letters sent and received, with dates, which I shall check with their families.

One young American POW described to me how the camp was bombed, in spite of the fact that its location was clearly marked by agreement between both sides. "But that," he added bitterly, "didn't prevent them from killing and wounding our own fellows * **. And when I went out next morning and saw the way the Koreans in the village looked at me, I could have sunk into the ground with shame * * *. What can we do to make certain that our own people know these things? When we get home, we'll tell them ourselves, but they ought to be told now * * *.

Question. Did you talk with any of the United States Air Force men who had

confessed to germ warfare?

Answer. Yes; I met Lieutenant Quinn and found him to be very friendly and likable. As you know, he is a Catholic, and he told me that at first, when he was given books to read, he refused to look at them. One day he was handed the dean of Canterbury's Socialist Sixth of the World. The very thought of the Red dean upset him, but there was nothing else of interest to read, so he began it, and then couldn't put it down. He said that book and Epstein's The Unfinished Revolution in China started him thinking.

He seems to have a great sense of personal guilt for the part he took in germ warfare, and he talked about the conflict in his own mind, as he loves America and the American people, and feels a deep loyalty to his country, which he described as "the best place in the world." But he was sure that he had done the right thing in confessing his part in germ warfare, and is quite

prepared to accept the consequences.

He mentioned that he used to read a great deal about how drugs and torture were used in eastern European trials to get confessions, and then he grinned at me and asked, "Po I look as though I'd been drugged and tortured?" He felt certain that his family would support his stand.

Question. When you visited Korea this time did you find any differences

since your last visit?

Answer. Yes; I found that Korea had changed in two significant respects. First, the fury of physical destruction had risen to new heights, and, second, the magnificent bravery of the ordinary people, which struck me so during my first visit, had taken on a quality of calmness, had become stronger.

In 1951, Pyongyang was already a ruin, but scattered skeletons of buildings afforded some shelter, and a dense population lived in tiny huts on the outskirts. But this year not even the skeletons of buildings remain, so sayage have been the most recent attacks, and the hovels on the outskirts have also been pounded into dust * * * all that remains of such "military objectives" is scattered tiles. charred fragments of wood, a litter of broken pots, rags, an occasional broken

Question. And what's been the effect of these recent bombing raids?

Answer. Well, on the morning of September 16 I went to see the results of the previous night's bombing. The bombs had fallen in a village of tiny houses, far from any building that could have been of the slightest military importance;

yet the fields of onions and cabbages were torn with bomb craters.

The wounded—most of them women and children—were still being carried to the hospital, and some of the dead were being lowered into roughly made coffins. Nearby, other bodies and fragments of human limbs still lay where the force of the blast had blown them. * * * I asked an old man if he had stayed in the dugout during the raid. "How could I stay in the shelter," he asked with a hint of reproof, "when I knew that other people were suffering what I have suffered and that they might need my help?"

This 68-year-old peasant is a significant part of Korea today, because he is typical of the quiet courage and heroic determination that make up the spirit of a people who can never be defeated. I met that spirit all over North Korea.

Question. How do you account for this courageous attitude of the people? Answer. I mentioned that the courage of the Korean people had taken on a quality of calmness. This calmness is the fruit of achievement which has been won during the past year in spite of incessant bombing. Life in Korea today not merely survives, but advances. The countryside is rich with a bumper harvest, and destroyed livestock is being replaced by skillful breeding.

In Pyongyang itself a new life goes on underground, where productive work and even cultural activities are safe from bombing. Outside the city orphaned children are being nursed back to health with a loving care that is an example to the whole world. The women of Korea, whether earing for the children, tending the sick, or cultivating the fields, show a purpose, a strength and gaiety

of spirit full of confidence in the future.

The Korean people show courage in the highest and noblest sense; but it is courage in circumstances which the world must refuse to tolerate. The terror that stalks in Korea is a terror that can destroy the world as we know it. The war in Korea has gone on too long-far too long. The time has come for the peoples of the world to act, to put an end to it.

Mr. Carpenter. Major, I have here a report on which your name appears. I will ask you to tell us what it is and if that name in the

report is the same as yours.

Major Shadish. This report is a copy of the conversation which took place at a conference at the Surgeon General's office of the five surviving physicians who were prisoners of war in Korea. This conference was under the auspices of the Surgeon General.

Mr. Carpenter. Your name appears there?

Major Shadish. It does, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. In what connection does your name appear? Major Shadish. My name is listed as one of the surviving physicians of the prisoner-of-war camp.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the five?

Major Shadish. Five surviving; yes, sir. Mr. Carpenter. I believe you also wrote an article for the American Medical Journal entitled "Medical Experiences in Communist POW Camps in Korea."

Major Shadish. This article was written by the five physicians

again.

Mr. Carpenter. I will ask this be made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will go into the record and become part of the record. The same with the previous exhibit.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 461" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 461

[From the Journal of the American Medical Association, September 11, 1954]

Medical Experiences in Communist POW Camps in Korea ¹

Maj. Clarence L. Anderson, Maj. Alexander M. Boysen, Capt. Sidney Esensten, Capt. Gene N. Lam, and Capt. William R. Shadish, Medical Corps, United States Army

The following report constitutes a general recital of the experiences and observations of five American medical officers who were prisoners of war of the Communists in Korea. No attempt has been made to present this material as a scientific study. The period of observation started in July 1950 and continued until September 1953, when the last group of prisoners of war was repatriated. A large part of the accumulated prisoner-of-war experience is included. Some of the smaller groups composed largely of men who were captured after January 1,1952, were not observed directly by any of the captured medical officers.

THREE PHASES OF CAPTIVITY

The entire period of captivity is divided into three general time phases. The first phase started with capture and ended with arrival in the first permanent camp. It was characterized by lack of food and shelter, forced marches, and exposure to the elements. Men were forced to march through snowstorms without adequate clothing or foot covering. Food was supplied and prepared by the local inhabitants. Frequently there was no food for 24- to 72-hour periods. The only water available for drinking was snow water from polluted sources, such as standing wells, creeks, and rice paddies. With few exceptions, the prisoners got to rear areas by marching and carrying the wounded, either on improvised litters or on their backs. Injuries resulting from prolonged marches and exposure to cold were common. Dysentery made its first appearance. Medical supplies were nonexistent, and treatment was limited entirely to first aid, using improvised splints and rag dressings. Most of the prisoners experienced severe mental depression.

The second phase began with the arrival at the first permanent camp and ended about October 1951, when the first beneficial effects of the armistice negotiations were felt. This was a phase of profound deprivation of all the necessities of life. The diet was grossly inadequate. The Thanksgiving, 1950, meal of one group of 500 men furnishes a typical example. Each man received a millet ball weighing less than 200 grams, and the whole group was given soup prepared by boiling nine heads of cabbage in water. Group sanitation and personal hygiene were at their lowest levels. The men were housed in small, unheated, overcrowded, vermin-infested Korean farm houses. No clothing was issued until July 1951. Medicine and medical care were inadequate, and morale reached its lowest ebb. In the face of all these conditions, sickness and death became the order of the day.

The third phase began in October 1951 with gradually increasing quantities of food, clothing, and medicine. This period was characterized by many fluctuations in the attitude of the captors toward the prisoners, which appeared to follow changes in the political situation and the armistice conference. The diet remained inadequate in protein and vltamin content. Housing was gradually improved to a point of relative comfort, and clothing was sufficient for survival. Sanitary conditions, while never good, underwent a gradual improvement. Medical care never became adequate. Avitaminoses were prevalent.

MEDICAL CARE

The health of all United Nations prisoners was neglected throughout the period of captivity. Before the onset of armistice negotiations the Communists showed no uniform desire to keep the prisoners alive. By the spring of 1951 the food shortage had become so acute that weeds growing adjacent to the prison com-

¹ Read before the section on military medicine at the **1**03d annual meeting of the American Medical Association, San Francisco, June 24, 1951.

pound were boiled and eaten. Most of the serious disease epidemics occurred during the first year of captivity. Pneumonia and dysentery were epidemic at this time. Some of the captured medical officers were allowed to see patients. Medical and surgical supplies, however, were doled out on a day-to-day basis. The so-called hospital compounds were frequently the coldest buildings in the camp. The patients slept and lived on the floors of these filthy, crowded compounds. It was common for them to awaken in the morning and find that the man sleeping on either side had died during the night. No provision was made for the prisoners to be properly clothed, and their diet was always poor. At times they were put on a special diet consisting of an unseasoned preparation of soupy rice.

Penicillin and the sulfonamides were available sporadically and in such small quantities that it was not possible to treat all who needed these drugs. On one occasion we were given 2 million units of aqueous penicillin for the treatment of approximately 100 cases of pneumonia. Our captors refused to allow more than 6 grams of sulfonamide for the treatment of any single pneumonia patient. Frequently, the only medicaments available were cough tablets for pneumonia and charcoal tablets for dysentery. Surgical problems were handled in an equally haphazard manner. It was necessary to wait several weeks to obtain a few surgical instruments and the barest minimum of anesthetic materials. Incision and drainage of abscesses was usually carried out without anesthesia, by using improvised instruments, such as a knife made from the arch of a combat boot.

Deaths.—Virtually all of the deaths in the Communist prisoner-of-war camps were caused directly or indirectly by starvation, exposure, and the harassment by the enemy. The lack of medicaments was not the most important factor. During the first month or two of captivity most of the deaths occurred among the wounded. During the succeeding 3 to 5 months most of the men died either from pneumonia or dysentery, or from a combination of these two. After the first 5 or 6 months of captivity the majority of deaths occurred among persons suffering from pellagra or heriberi. During one 5-month period there were between 5 and 28 deaths per day in 1 camp in North Korea. None of these men had illnesses that

would have caused death had they been under normal conditions.

After October 1951 the prisoners were put on a subsistence diet and were given sufficient clothing and reasonably warm housing. All of the men continued to suffer from periodic loss of day and night vision, and bleeding from soreness of the mouth and lips. There were occasional cases of pneumonia and dysentery. Sickness and death became so common during the first year and a half of captivity that the prisoners began to feel that any sickness would be fatal. In an attempt to overcome this attitude, the captured physicians coined a very unfortunate term, "give-up-itis." The use of this term had its desired immediate effect on the prisoners. It made them realize that the individual's fighting spirit had to be maintained at a high level for him to survive any illness. The term "give-upitis" has recently gotten wide circulation in the public press. The erroneous impression has been created that prisoners of war who were in good physical health gave up and died; this is not true. Every prisoner of war in Korea who died had suffered from malnutrition, exposure to cold, and continued harassment by the Communists. Contributing causes to the majority of deaths were prolonged cases of respiratory infection and diarrhea. Under such conditions, it is amazing, not that there was a high death rate, but that there was a reasonably good rate of survival.

Chinese physicians.—During the summer and fall of 1951 all of the British and American doctors were gradually replaced by Chinese. Most of the Chinese doctors exhibited a wide range of medical incompetence. Most of them had a maximum of 6 months' formal schooling, and we saw only one physician who appeared to be well trained. The Chinese doctor who was put in the most responsible position was one who was best oriented politically. The average Chinese doctor who conducted sick call in the prisoner-of-war camps elicited only the chief complaint and prescribed medicine for symptomatic relief. It was a general rule that only one symptom would be treated at a time; therefore, if a patient suffered from night blindness and diarrhea, it was necessary for him to decide which of these complaints was bothering him more before he went on sick call. He would not be treated for both conditions.

The Communists introduced us to several unusual types of medical treatment. One Chinese doctor used a series of short needles attached to spring vibrators for the treatment of pain. The needles were placed in the skin around the painful area and then were made to vibrate. As one might suspect, some cases of back pain and headache were cured by this treatment. At one time a Chinese doctor decided that all of our visual disturbances were caused by glaucoma. He

Injected hypertonic sodium chloride solution subconjunctivally. Another notable treatment was used for avitaminosis. Bile was obtained from the gallbladders of pigs when they were butchered, and it was then dispensed to all who complained of vitamin deficiency diseases. This treatment had its desired effect in keeping patients away from sick call. In the summer of 1951 a great Russian panacea was used in treating 56 seriously ill patients. This consisted of the subcutaneous transplant of small pieces of chicken liver that had been incubated in a weak solution of penicillin. These patients were immediately put on an attractive, high calorie, high protein, high vitamin diet. In all cases, the chicken liver either sloughed through the operative site or became a hard, tender nodule. None of these men died, and we were thus allowed to witness another miracle of Soviet medical science.

INDOCTRINATION

The most important single consideration that placed the prisoners of war in North Korea apart from any other group of American prisoners of war was Communist indoctrination. This indoctrination had a profound effect on the general health of the group. The medical profession and the American people as a whole have a great deal to learn from a study of the techniques, purposes, and effectiveness of Communist indoctrination as it was used on Americans in North Korea. There is no reason to believe that the Communist indoctrination techniques that were used on the prisoners of war were different in any way from the general pattern of indoctrination that is being used in Communistdominated countries today. It is important to realize that every aspect of the daily life of the prisoner, from the moment of capture to the time of release, was part of the general plan of indoctrination. At the time of capture, each prisoner was given the general theme of indoctrination; "We are your friends. Your conditions of living are bad now, but we will work together to improve them. We will correct the errors in your thinking. Once you have learned the truth, we will send you back to your families."

Steps in indoctrination.—The first necessary step was to break down the normal resistance to an alien ideology. This was accomplished by keeping the prisoners cold, hungry, and in a state of disorganized confusion until each person realized that resistance meant starvation and death. It was emphasized repeatedly that the prisoners were no longer members of the armed forces of their nation, and all attempts to maintain a military organization were harshly punished. The planners of this indoctrination program did not condone the shooting of large numbers of prisoners. Instead, they resorted to starvation and exposure to cold. After a few months of this treatment the resistance of the survivors had softened. The second phase of indoctrination consisted of an intensive formal study program. For a period of approximately 1 year, most of the waking hours of the prisoners were spent in some form of supervised study. Food was gradually improved and more clothing was issued. It was made painfully clear to each prisoner that living conditions would be improved only so long as there was no resistance to the study program. The formal study program consisted of an endless repetition of two main themes; first, that the United States Government is imperialistic, run by and for the wealthy few, and, second, that communism reflects the aims and desires of all the people and is the only true democracy. The main propaganda technique that was used was ceaseless repetition of the main theme.

During the third phase all formal studies were stopped. The groundwork had been laid, and, to a large extent, the purposes of the indoctrination program had been fulfilled. Books, pamphlets, and newspapers became available in quantity. During this time, the Chinese conducted many individual and small group interviews. They attempted to find points of individual susceptibility on such grounds as race, religion, or economic status. The most intensive subject for special indoctrination was the bacteriological warfare hoax. Throughout the period of captivity there were many instances of individual brutality. Solitary confinement, beatings, withholding food and water, and exposure to cold were common punishment. Resistance leaders were taken away from the main body of prisoners and kept either in solitary confinement or in small groups of recalcitrants. No one escaped the indoctrination program. When a captured medical officer stated that he had no interest in politics, he was told, "Up to this time your education has been incomplete. You have only learned how to cure. We Communists will teach you whom to cure."

Purposes.—The indoctrination program had a twofold purpose; first, the selection and conversion of susceptible persons, and, second, group neutraliza-

tion. During the first year of captivity there was a continual regrouping of prisoners in an attempt to isolate resistance groups. They were separated according to rank and later according to national and racial groups. There were a few persons who eventually accepted the Communist ideology, but they constituted only a small minority of any single group. The second purpose of indoctrination, group neutralization, was far more important and somewhat more successful. The Communists fostered discontent and distrust within the groups. So long as there was no unity of purpose, there could be no effective resistance.

COMMENT

The experiences of this group, therefore, form a valuable basis for the understanding of Communist aims and techniques. Most persons in the United States are probably guilty of a certain smugness about the possibility of communism actually taking over our country. It is worth while to keep in mind two well-known facts: First, no country has ever been taken over by Communists because the majority of the people in that country wanted it; second, no country once it has been taken over by communism has ever reverted to another form of government. Communist tyranny has been maintained by the application of indoctrination techniques similar in every respect to those that were practiced on the prisoners of war in North Korea. A relatively small group of Communists with a definite plan would have little difficulty in wresting power from a government that is paralyzed by a coalition of small groups concentrating on their own shortsighted self-interests.

The people of the United States must realize that the spread of communism anywhere in the world, whether by armed aggression or by internal infiltration, constitutes a direct threat to our survival as a nation. Americans must work against communism by being vigilant; they must work for democracy by constantly striving toward the democratic ideal of an enlightened people participating in their government. Physicians have an influence that is out of proportion to their numbers. That influence should be used to fight communism by intel-

ligently promoting democracy.

Mr. Carpenter. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside. Thank you very much.

Mr. Powell will come forward, please.

Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Powell. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN W. POWELL, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., ACCOMPANIED BY ATTORNEY LEONARD B. BOUDIN, NEW YORK

Mr. Powell. Mr. Chairman, I would just as soon not have the light,

please.

The Chairman. All right. We will ask the photographers to turn their lights off for the witness. You may keep your lights on the committee.

Mr. Powell. I would just as soon not have pictures now. I will be

happy to pose for pictures after the hearing.

The Chairman. We will comply with your request. We will ask the photographers not to take pictures at this time.

State your full name to the committee.

Mr. Powell. John W. Powell.

The Chairman. Where do you reside, Mr. Powell? Mr. Powell. 1015 Carolina Street, San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business or profession?

Mr. Powell. Lecturer and writer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Boudin, will you give your full name for the record. You came here as counsel?

Mr. Boudin. Leonard B. Boudin. 25 Broad Street, New York. May I have those lights turned off as you instructed?

The CHAIRMAN. Please turn the lights off, gentlemen.

What firm are you with?

Mr. Boudin. Shapiro, Rabinowitz & Boudin.

The CHARMAN. How long have you been with this firm?

Mr. Bordin. Why do you ask that!

The Charman. Because I want the information?

Mr. Boudin. But I am not a witness here, am I?

The Charman. You are appearing here as counsel as a privilege, not as a right. If you do not want to cooperate, you will be excused.

Mr. Boudin. I will answer, but I must say I resent your inquiry.

I have been a member of the firm for 7 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. Carpenter. Where were you born?

Mr. Powell. In Shanghai, China.

Mr. Carpenter. When?

Mr. Powell. July 3, 1919.

Mr. Carpenter. How long have you lived in China?

Mr. Powell. About 15 years.

Mr. Carrenter. Did you live part of your lifetime in the United States?

Mr. Powell. The remainder, yes.

Mr. CARPENTER. When did you first come to the United States?

Mr. Powell. I suppose in 1920.

Mr. Carpenter. How long did you stay in the United States when you arrived here in 1920?

Mr. Powell. Until about 1926 when I returned to China for 1 year, approximately.

Mr. Carpenter. And then you returned back to the United States?

Mr. Powell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. What year, 1926?

Mr. Powell. I guess it was probably 1927 when I returned.

Mr. CARPENTER. How long did you stay in the United States that ime?

Mr. Powell. I was back here in school in Missouri until 1940, and I went to China again for a year and I worked there as a newspaperman. Then I returned again to the United States in 1941.

Mr. Carpenter. Where did you go to school?

Mr. Powell. I went to public schools in Hannibal, Mo. I think I went 1 year to the American School in Shanghai, the rest of the time to public schools in Hannibal, Mo., and the University of Missouri School of Journalism.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you graduate from there?

Mr. Powell. No. The war interrupted. I left there in the spring of 1942.

I would like, if I may——

The Chairman. Were you in the armed services? Mr. Powell. No. I was not in the armed services.

Mr. Powell. No, I was not in the armed services.
The Chairman. I do not quite understand your answer. You said

the war interrupted your education.

Mr. Powell. I wanted something to do at this point. As I told you this morning in the executive session, I was called up and I had a

physical deferment and I got tired of staying back in school. I wanted to do something so I had a chance to work for the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you go with in Government?

Mr. Powell. I was first employed by the Federal Communications Commission in their foreign broadcast monitoring service.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your superior?

Mr. Powell. As I told you, I do not recall exactly at this time. It was early 1942 and a great number of people were being brought into Washington.

The CHARMAN. How long did you stay with the FCC?

Mr. Powell. About 6 or 7 months.

The Chairman. Then where did you go?

Mr. Powell. Then I transferred to the Office of War Information.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you with them?

Mr. Powell. From that period until the early fall, I believe it was, of 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your superior there?

Mr. Powell. The main superior I had when I was in China with the OWI was a Mr. Fisher who was the head of the office there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was his successor?

Mr. Powell. There were a series of people. He was the man in charge during most of the time, for approximately the 2 years I was there. The last, oh, perhaps 6 months or a little more after the war in Europe ended, a large number of new personnel came and there were many shifts of people. As I told you this morning, you asked me specifically. Mr. Holland was there. He was there at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the head of OWI when you first became

employed?

Mr. Powell. The overall head?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. Powell. Elmer Davis.

The Chairman. Who were your references to OWI on your appli-

cation?

Mr. Powell. I do not recall this at all, but I imagine we could probably find out. I assume there were probably other newspapermen I knew, probably journalism school professors.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to read this statement that I handed

to you in the executive session this morning.

The Chairman. That has been submitted to the committee. We have a rule it must be filed 1 day before appearance. We will take a statement for consideration.

Proceed, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. CARPENTER. You say you were with the War Information in Shanghai.

Mr. Powell. The Office of War Information.

Mr. Carpenter. Where did you serve in China with the OWI?

Mr. Powell. I guess for the longest period in Chungking, but I was also in Kweilin for a while and in Kunming for a while. I traveled some other places, but those were the three main places.

Mr. Carpenter. Then what did you do?

Mr. Powell. I left the OWI to resurrect my father's magazine in Shanghai.

Mr. Carpenter. What was the name of your father's magazine?

Mr. Powell. The China Weekly Review.

Mr. Carpenter. What was your father's name? Mr. Powell. J. B. Powell.

Mr. Carpenter. And he had resided in China for some considerable time?

Mr. Powell. For about 25 years.

Mr. Carpenter. At this time I would like to enter into the record the statement of the Federal service of John W. Powell when he was connected with the OWI.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of

(The documents were marked "Exhibits Nos. 462, 462-A, and 462-B" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 462

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, SERVICE RECORD DIVISION, Washington 25, D. C., August 6, 1954.

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL SERVICE

Name: Powell, John W. Date of birth: 7-3-19.

Authority for original appointment (Examination from which appointed or other authority—Executive order, law, or other exemption): War Service—Regulation V.

Effective date	Nature of action	Position, grade, salary, etc.
Apr. 21, 1942	War Service Indefinite Appointment	Editorial Assistant, CAF-7, \$2,600 per annum, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C.
Oct. 16, 1942	Promotion	Junior Assistant Editor, CAF-9, \$3,200 per
Dec. 10, 1942 Dec. 11, 1942	Separation-TransferAppointment by Transfer	annum. Field Representative, \$3,890 per annum, Office for Emergency Management, Office of War
June 16, 1943	Arrival at Post	Information, New York, New York, Field Representative, \$3,800 per annum, Office of War Information, Overseas Operations Branch, Chungking, China.
Nov. 1,1943	Promotion	Field Representative (Information Specialist).
Dec. 1,1945	Separation (Voluntary) (Personal Reasons).	\$4,600 per annum. Information Specialist, \$5,000 per annum.

A. M. DEEM, Chief, Audit Section.

The above transcript of service history does not include all salary changes, Intragency transfers within an organizational unit not involving changes from one official headquarters or duty station to another, and promotions or demotions, since Federal agencies are not required to report all such actions to the Commission.

Ехнівіт №. 462-А

	UNITED STATES CIVIL, SERVICE COMMISSION
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Ехипыт No. 462-В

Form 8781 (August 1961)

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION WASHINGTON D C.

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10. Experience.—Below, give a statement in chronological order of all your experience, beginning with your first full-time employment and including your present employment. Any periods of unemployment should be accounted for. Give addresses and names of persons with whom you lived during such periods. If in the military or navastervice during the past S years, give names of organisations, and date and location of service with each; and place, date, type of discharge, and rank at the time of discharge.

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Mr. CARPENTER. Was your father still living when you left the OWI, and was he still actively engaged in newspaper work in China?

Mr. Powell. He was still living and he was somewhat active. He was not too active. As some of you gentlemen may recall, he had a very rough time with the Japanese who arrested him and imprisoned him. It resulted in his being crippled and hastened his death. He remained in the United States. He made one trip to Japan to testify at the war-crimes trials. He was able to write and do some work although he did not return to China after the war.

Mr. Carpenter. And when did he die?

Mr. Powell. In 1947.

Mr. Carrenter. And did you take over the operation of the China Weekly Review?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

Mr. CARPENTER. At a later date it became the China Monthly Review; is that right?

Mr. Powell. That is right.

Mr. CARPENTER. And you were the editor in chief and responsible for the policy of the China Weekly Review and later the China Monthly Review?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Powell, when you entered the Federal employment, did you take a loyalty oath?

Mr. Powell. I do not know. What did we have then?

Mr. Carpenter. Did you take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. Powell. I presumably did. I do not recall clearly now what the various papers were we filled out at that time.

Mr. CARPENTER. Have you ever violated that oath?

Mr. Powell. I do not think so. What is the oath? Do you have the oath there?

The CHAIRMAN. Read the oath to the witness.

Mr. Carpenter (reading):

I, the undersigned, do solemnly swear or affirm that the statements made by me to the foregoing questions are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief, so help me God.

I take it you are a supporter of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. Powell. Yes, indeed.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you ever violated the obligations of a citizen of the United States of America?

Mr. Powell. No. If I signed this oath, I am in the habit of telling he truth.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Powell, are you a member of the Communist

Party of the United States of America?

Mr. Powell. Well, gentlemen, I do not think it is within your province to ask me a question of such a personal political nature. I do not think I am called upon to tell you whether I am a Republican or a Democrat or a Communist or anything else.

The Chairman. We are not asking you whether you are a Republican or a Democrat, Mr. Powell; we are asking you whether or not you

are a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Powell. I think my political beliefs are my own. I think the first amendment to the Constitution covers my rights to belief and thought and speech.

The Chairman. Mr. Powell, this committee does not recognize your refusal to answer under the first amendment of the Constitution. You

will answer the question.

Mr. Powell. I am sorry. I must respectfully decline to answer under the constitutional privileges granted me in the fifth amend-

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. Powell. Because the constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment does not compel me to be a witness against myself.

Senator Johnston. So you consider if you answer this question

you might be a witness against yourself?

Mr. Powell. I stand on my answer, sir.

The Chairman. All right. The committee recognizes your refusal under the fifth amendment for the reasons stated.

Mr. Carpenter. Are you now and have you ever been a member

of the Communist Party of China?

Mr. Powell. I would repeat my answer to the previous question.

Mr. Carpenter. As an editor of the China Monthly Review, you were fully responsible for the contents of the magazine; is that correct?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you state in the issue of January 1952 that the editorial pages presented the opinions of the editor?

Mr. Powell. I recall we had some statement, I believe, to about

that effect.

Mr. Carpenter. Did any others share responsibility with you?

Mr. Powell. No. I was the editor. I just told you.

Mr. CARPENTER. Here is the oath you took:

Application for Federal employment, paragraph 17: Did you advocate or have you ever advocated or are you now or have you ever been a member of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence?

Your answer to that was "No." Did you take such an oath?

The Chairman. Mr. Attorney, please let the witness respond. want his testimony. If he wants to confer with you, all right; but please do not voluntarily talk with him.

Mr. Boudin. I said the witness, when you did not see him a mo-

ment ago, has raised a question with respect to this line.

Mr. Powell. Mr. Carpenter started to read it and I turned to my counsel.

Mr. Boudin. May the witness consult with me?

The CHAIRMAN. He may.

Let the record show the witness consults with his attorney before responding to the question.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. Powell. Do you have any objection to my consulting? The Chairman. None at all.

Mr. Powell. O. K.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. Powell. Well, I told you before that I am in the habit of telling the truth, but I have declined to answer a couple of questions here and now you are bringing this thing up which bears very much on the same subject.

The CHAIRMAN. This is not a thing. This is your oath you took

when you became a Federal employee.

Mr. Powell. I would like to finish please. I rather view this, since it deals with the same subjects on which I took the privilege a moment ago—it seems to me this is sort of going around the back door to get an answer to the same questions which I declined to answer.

The Chairman. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the

time you took that oath?

Mr. Powell. That I decline to answer.

The Chairman. Your answer on the application is "No." a true answer?

Mr. Powell. As I have told you, I do not wish to go any further

than this.

The Chairman. Is it a true answer? You can answer yes or no.

Mr. Powell. It is obviously around the back door.

The Chairman. It is not. It is a very simple question. Did you answer truthfully when you took that oath when your answer was "No"?

Mr. Powell. I told you before, there is a certain subject, there is an area of questioning which I do not care to answer under the fifth amendment, and I stand on that.

The Chairman. On November 23—let me ask you again—1942, you

took an oath. Reading part of that oath—

Par. 17. Do you advocate or have you ever advocated or are you now or have you ever been a member of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence?

What is your answer to that?

Mr. Powell. I will repeat my answer that I will take the privilege under the fifth amendment as previously stated on questions in this category.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. Sourwine, did you have a question?

Mr. Sourwine. If I may.

The Chairman. You may. Mr. Sourwine. Mr. Powell, when you were asked if you had ever been a member of the Communist Party of China, you said you repeated your previous answer but your previous answer had several parts to it. You had claimed immunity under the first amendment. Do you attempt to claim immunity under the first amendment from answering the question as to whether you were a member of the Communist Party of China?

Mr. Powell. My previous answer, I declined the answer under the provisions of the first amendment and the chairman said he did not recognize the first amendment. So I then said I declined under the

constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Sourwine. I know what happened as well as you do. Mr. Powell. I would give the same answer to this question. Mr. Sourwine. I am asking you specifically whether you claimed any first-amendment privilege in refusing to answer the question as to whether you were a member of the Communist Party of China.

Mr. Powell. Yes, I do; and I also claim my position, my constitu-

tional privilege.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you think the Communist Party of China is a political and ideological organization? Do you think you as an American have a right, a constitutional right, to belong to the Communist Party of China?

Mr. Powell. I think that these questions are again in an area which

I am not prepared to discuss with you gentlemen.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you have any opinion as to whether you have a constitutional right as an American citizen to belong to the Communist Party of China?

Mr. Powell. I must give you the same answer.

Mr. Sourwine. You mean you do not have any such opinion or you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. Powell. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. Sourwine. Pardon?

Mr. Powell. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. Sourwine. Why?

Mr. Powell. Because, as I said before, under the first amendment I believe that my associations and beliefs and freedoms of thought and speech are protected from investigation by you in this place.

Mr. Sourwine. The question was not about your associations; the question was about whether you had an opinion on your constitu-

tional right.

Mr. Powell. Yes; I have an opinion. My opinion is that I have a constitutional right not to answer under the provisions of the first amendment.

Mr. Sourwine. You have the constitutional right not to answer the question as to whether you belong to the Communist Party of China.

Mr. Powell. Yes.

Mr. Sourwine. Are you claiming that right only under the first amendment?

Mr. Powell. I am claiming that under the first amendment. Will you rule on it?

The CHAIRMAN. This committee does not recognize your right to

refuse to answer that question under the first amendment.

Mr. Powell. In that event, then, I claim the constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, as I claimed it a moment ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Why was that?

Mr. Powell. Because under the fifth amendment no person may

be required to be a witness against himself.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you believe that if you answered truthfully the question of whether you were a member of the Communist Party of China it would tend to incriminate you?

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. Powell. My answer is just the same as the answer to the ques-

tion previously asked.

Mr. Sourwine. You have given so many answers, answer this one "Yes" or "No": Do you believe honestly that a truthful answer to the question of whether you were a member of the Communist Party of China would tend to incriminate you?

The Chairman. Let the record show the witness confers with counsel before responding to the question.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. Powell. My position is that I do not think this is the province of this committee.

Mr. Sourwine. Are you refusing to answer the question because you do not think the committee has the right to ask it?

The Chairman. I direct that you answer. Mr. Powell. I will answer the question.

The Chairman. I order and direct you to answer.

Mr. Powell. It seems to me we are beating around the bush about practically the same question and I decline to answer it, as I have told you before, on the provisions of the first amendment and the

constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Sourwine. I want to get this clear for the record. You are now declining under the privilege in the fifth amendment to answer the question as to whether if you answered truthfully concerning your membership in the Communist Party of China you believe you would incriminate yourself, is that right?

Mr. Powell. Under the constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment nobody, no one, may be required to be a witness against him-

self. That is the privilege I am claiming.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you know, Mr. Powell, whether the Communist Party of the United States of America advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show the witness confers with counsel before responding.

Mr. Powell. To this question I would again claim the constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Same record.

Mr. Sourwine. Do you know whether the Communist Party of China advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. Powell. Constitutional privilege.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the fifth amendment?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That your answer does not require you to give tesimony against yourself?

timony against yourself?

Mr. Powell. That is correct. I thought we could carry this

forward.

The Chairman. So carry that statement forward, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Sourwine. I would like to ask you a few questions to pick up the loose ends from your previous testimony.

How did you get your job with the Federal Communications Com-

mission?

Mr. Powell. I applied for it.

Mr. Sourwine. To whom did you apply?

Mr. Powell. That, the individual, I cannot recall. I think we could probably figure that out if you have the record.

Mr. Sourwine. Was it by letter or in person?

Mr. Powell. I imagine it was by letter. Mr. Sourwine. Don't you remember?

Mr. Powell. It seems to me I remember having written a letter to someone there.

Mr. Sourwine. You do not remember to whom you wrote it?

Mr. Powell. No; I do not at this point.

Mr. Sourwine. Did you go down somewhere for an interview?

Mr. Powell. I do not remember. I do not believe so.

Mr. Sourwine. You did not? You were hired by mail, so to speak?
Mr. Powell. I believe that is correct. I may be wrong, but that is my recollection.

Mr. Sourwine. How did you initiate your transfer from the Com-

munications Commission to the OWI?

Mr. Powell. I went to a place here in Washington—I do not recall the exact place—an OWI office where they took such applications and applied to transfer to OWI as a news editor.

Mr. Sourwine. You went to OWI rather than to your own agency?

Mr. Powell. As I recall; yes.

Mr. Sourwine. Prior to your going there to make that application, had you discussed with anyone the question of your transfer to OWI?

Mr. Powell. I do not recall.

Mr. Sourwine. Who hired you at OWI?

Mr. Powell. That I do not know.

Mr. Sourwine. Did you have a superior here in the United States

before you went overseas for OWI?

Mr. Powell. Yes; I obviously had. As I told you in the executive session—I do not recall if you were there are not—that during the period I worked for OWI here in the United States was 3 or 4 months, perhaps, and I was hired to go to China. So in the period here I worked in some different places in the office under different people, sort of a get-acquainted proposition. I do not recall different days and different weeks. I probably had one superior and then another.

Mr. Sourwine. Did you know Owen Lattimore while employed

by the OWI?

Mr. Powell. That question I must decline to answer under the constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Sourwine. Thank you. The Chairman. Proceed.

Mr. CARPENTER. Have you ever made application for a United States passport?

Mr. Powell. Oh, ves.

Mr. Carpenter. When was the first time? Mr. Powell. I would say probably 1940.

Mr. Carpenter. And you took an oath at that time substantially as follows:

I solemnly swear that the statements on both sides of this application are

true and that the photograph attached hereto is a likeness of me.

I (have—have not) been naturalized as a citizen of a foreign state; taken an oath or made an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state; entered or served in the armed forces of a foreign state; accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof; voted in a political election in a foreign state or participated in an election or plebiscite to determine the sovereignty over foreign territory; made a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state; been convicted by court martial of deserting the military or naval service of

the United States in time of war; been convicted by court martial, or by a court of competent jurisdiction, of committing any act of treason against, or of attempting by force to overthrow, or of bearing arms against the United States.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that 1 will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation, or purpose of evasion; So help me God.

(Signature of applicant)

Did you sign such a statement? •

Mr. Powell. Is that it! I do not know if that is what I signed. My answer would be to take my constitutional privilege because I consider this the same thing, of going back to this same area of dis-

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Carpenter. I would like to have this entered into the record.

(The document which was read in full above by Mr. Carpenter, was filed with the committee.)

Mr. Carpenter. I would like to show this application for a passport and the signature of John W. Powell appearing at the bottom thereof under the oath just read and ask if this is his signature.

The CHAIRMAN. Show it to the witness.

Is that your signature?

Mr. Powell. I would say this seems to me it still is a question of entrapment. It is going back to the same area it went into before.

The Chairman. Mr. Powell, it certainly is no question of entrapment when we ask if that is your signature. Is it or is it not?

Mr. Powell. If this is my signature and there is something false here, I am quite liable for prosecution under the laws of the United

The Chairman. And you refuse to answer under the fifth amendment?

Mr. Powell. But I refuse to answer under—

The Chairman. Not to give testimony against yourself?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

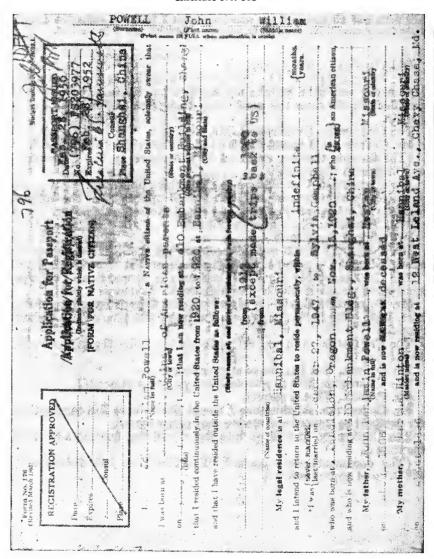
Mr. Carpenter. At this time I would like to have this application for passport be entered and made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will go into the record and become a part of

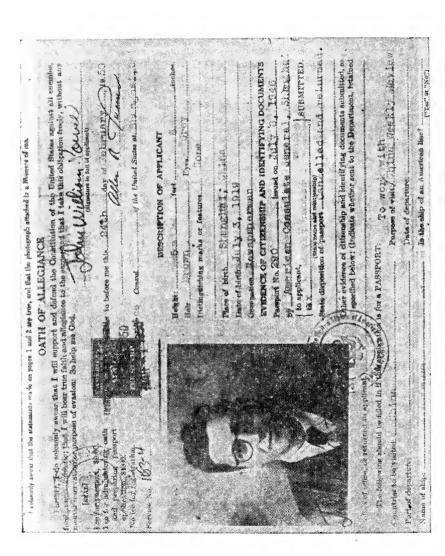
the record.

(The documents were marked "Exhibits Nos. 463, 463-A, and 463-B" and appear below:)

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Mr. Carpenter. Did you arrive in Peiping on or about September 27, 1952, or thereabouts in connection with the Asian Pacific Peace

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show the witness, before responding,

conferred with counsel.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. Powell. I would decline to answer under my constitutional privilege.

The Chairman. The fifth amendment?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you visit Japan in 1946, receiving permission from the Army headquarters to do so?

Mr. Powell. Yes, I was in Japan.

Mr. CARPENTER. What was the purpose of that trip?

Mr. Powell. I went to see my father.

Mr. CARPENTER. What was your mother's maiden name?

Mr. Powell. Martha Hinton.

Mr. CARPENTER. Are you related in any way to William Hinton who was a previous witness before us?

The Chairman. Let the record show the witness confers with

counsel.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. Powell. No relation.

Mr. Carpenter. Are you married, Mr. Powell?

Mr. Powell. I am.

Mr. Carpenter. What is your wife's name?

Mr. Powell. Sylvia.

Mr. CARPENTER. And is she now employed?

Mr. Powell. She is at home.

Mr. CARPENTER. Is she employed? Mr. Powell. Looking after our kids. Mr. CARPENTER. Is she employed?

Mr. Powell. Yes; she is also working. Mr. CARPENTER. Where is she working?

Mr. Powell. Why do you-

The Chairman. Counsel, please cooperate. You are here as a privilege. We do not want to remove that privilege. Please, let's have the testimony of the witness rather than the voluntary statements of his counsel.

Mr. Boudin. The alternative is going to be that the witness will

ask me questions and this will prolong the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not interfere.

Mr. Powell. I would like to ask what the purpose of these—

The CHAIRMAN. Just answer the question. It is not your right to know what the purpose is.

Mr. Powell. You do not think so?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. Powell. You do not think I have any rights here?

The CHAIRMAN. You have certain rights. You have been granted rights under the fifth amendment to refuse to answer simple questions. Please answer the question.

Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. Powell. That question I decline to answer. I think questions about my wife are an invasion of my privacy. My wife is available. If you gentlemen have questions about my wife, she will be more than pleased to come here and give you her views on any variety of subjects. I think that if you gentlemen are married men you certainly know better than to ask a husband to say what his wife thinks. She is quite competent to express an opinion.

The Chairman. You refuse to answer the question under the fifth

amendment?

Mr. Powell. If you are going to push me; yes. Mr. Carrenter. How many children do you have?

Mr. Powell. We are getting quite personal now. I have two.

Mr. CARPENTER. What are their ages?

Mr. Powell. Three and five.

Mr. CARPENTER. Where are they?

Mr. Powell. They are in San Francisco.

Mr. Carpenter. Did they return with you when you came back to the United States?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

Mr. CARPENTER. When did you return to the United States?

Mr. Powell. In August of 1953.

Mr. Carpenter. Where are you now employed?

Mr. Powell. As I told you before, I am a writer and lecturer. I am a free-lance writer and lecturer.

Mr. Carpenter. Can you name some of the articles you have written

since you have returned?

Mr. Powell. That I think is an unreasonable question. I do not think I have to answer that. I think the first amendment covers my freedom of expression.

Mr. Carpenter. We are not asking about your expression; we just

ask what you have written since your return to the United States.

Mr. Powell. That I will decline to answer. I am sorry. The Charman. For what reason do you decline?

Mr. Powell. I think the first amendment covers that.

The Chairman. This committee does not recognize your refusal to answer under the first amendment. I think we can save some time on that matter. You understand that.

Mr. Powell. You do not recognize the first amendment of anybody. The Chairman. Of course we do, but we do not recognize your refusal to answer under the first amendment to this question. We think it is a very proper question.

Mr. Powell. In that event, I will take my constitutional privilege

under the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. That is your answer, that you are not required to give testimony against yourself.

Follow the same record, Mr. Reporter.

Go ahead.

Mr. Carpenter. Since you returned to the United States, have you been in Washington before today?

Mr. Powell. Yes. I was here in the fall after I returned last year.

Mr. Carpenter. The fall of 1953?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. And whom did you visit when you were here?

Mr. Powell. Some relatives.

Mr. Carpenter. Who were they?

Mr. Powell. That again I think is not pertinent to this hearing. I don't see the purpose of this.

Mr. Carpenter. Maybe you do not, but we do.

Mr. Powell. All I can see as the purpose is to get their names in the paper, as far as I can see. I must decline.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the question.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.) The Chairman. State their names, please.

Mr. Powell. I will decline to answer under my constitutional privilege.

The Chairman. Of the fifth amendment?

Mr. Powell. That is right.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you call on Owen Lattimore when here?

Mr. Powell. That I will decline to answer.

The Chairman. For what reason?

Mr. Powell. Constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CARPENTER. Robert W. Barnett? -

Mr. Powell. That I will likewise decline for the same reason.

Mr. Carpenter. Rose Yardumian?

Mr. Powell. Same.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you visit Stuart Hensley?

Mr. Powell. I will decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Same record?

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Powell, did you know Dr. Miriam Sachs who passed upon your physical examination for the Office of War Informa-

Mr. Boudin. Would you repeat that, please?

Mr. Carpenter. Did you know a Dr. Miriam Sachs who passed upon your physical condition for the Office of War Information?

The Chairman. Let the record show the witness conferred with

counsel before responding.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. Powell. We had a woman doctor in the OWI in New York. I recall that, but I do not recall her name.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an answer.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Powell, were the issues of the China Monthly Review supervised or censored by a Wei Chuh, a vice minister of education of the central Communist government of Peiping?

Mr. Powell. I was the editor of the magazine. The CHAIRMAN. That was not the question.

Mr. Powell. I decided what went in and what did not.

The Chairman. That is not a question. Answer the question.

Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. Powell. I think I have answered this question in effect and in fact, but if this does not satisfy you, I will claim my privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you know Dr. Wei, the one just mentioned?

Mr. Powell. The same answer.

The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you tell this committee what your associations were with him?

Mr. Powell. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Powell. I might point out I do not think there is a Chinese name called Wei.

The CHAIRMAN. Spell it for the witness.

Mr. Carpenter. W-e-i.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Dr. Wei?

Mr. Powell. I decline to answer.

Senator Johnston. Did you receive any compensation from the Communists for publishing this China Weekly Review or China Monthly Review?

Mr. Powell. I would be very happy to tell you how the magazine

was financed if you are interested.

The CHAIRMAN. You can answer the question.

Senator Johnston. Did you receive any personally, yourself?

Mr. Powell. That I would decline to answer under my constitutional privilege. I will be happy to tell you how we made it go and how we finally did not make it go.

Mr. CARPENTER. I would like to retrace our steps a moment to the OWI. Did you know a Mr. William Holland, a supervisor in the

OWI, while you were so employed?

Mr. Powell. I think I told you that I recall him as being one of a series of directors who came through in the last days of my employment there in China.

Mr. CARPENTER. How well did you know him?

Mr. Powell. I would say not too well. I just knew him. He came through and I saw him.

Mr. Carpenter. He was your rating officer, was he not?

Mr. Powell. My what?

Mr. CARPENTER. He was your rating officer?

Mr. Powell. What is a rating officer?

Mr. Carpenter. He gave a description of your work, the way you handled it.

Mr. Powell. That I do not know.

Mr. Carpenter. I have a document here signed by William L. Holland as a rating official in the efficiency rating of John W. Powell, field representative, A1-7, \$4,600.

I ask this be made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will go into the record and become part of the record.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 464" and appears below:)

\$2,600,00

A-1-7

EXHIBIT No. 464

Standard Form No. 51, Rev. Approved Dec. 1943 C.S.C. DEPT. Cir. No. 458

Approval expires Mar. 30, 1945 Budget Bureau No. 50-R012 Form Approved

ADMINISTRATIVE_UNOFFICIAL SPECIAL REGULAR OFFICIAL:

PROBATIONAL OF TRIAL PERIOD

EFFICIENCY RATING REPORT OF

to 3-31-45 1s of May 1, 1945 based on performance during period from 6-15-43

(Title of position, service and grade) Kunming Senior Field Representative China Overseas Branch Pomell, John W. (Name of employee) O. W. I.

Administrative, CHECK ONE: (Organization - Indicate bureau, division, action, unit, field station) Study the Instructions in the Rating Official's Underline the elements which are especially Guide, C.S.C. Form No. 3823A. ; ς, IN LINES BELOW HARK EMPLOYEE

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Standard Form No. 51, Rev. Continuation - (2)

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Reviewed by (Signature of rating official)	(Title)	(Pate)
Rating approved by efficiency rating committee	ee <mark>7-13-45</mark> Ropos (Dote)	t to employee Local (Adjective rating)

U.S. Government Printing Office 16-26177-2 Form No. C-35

Mr. Carpenter. Will you give us a description of your work in

Mr. Powell. At what point? From the beginning to the end?

Mr. Carpenter. What was the nature of your work?

Mr. Powell. It changed from time to time. Did you want me to start at the beginning, chronologically, through to the end?

Mr. Carpenter. Yes.

Mr. Powell. In the beginning I was—I was originally hired as a news editor to go to China, but in these first months of employment, here still in the United States, I worked mostly in-I think it was called cable wireless or something like that in New York, where I assisted in the preparation of cables to be sent to the news desk of the office in Chungking.

The Chairman. Did you handle classified documents?
Mr. Powell. I do not recall. It was all news, and it was news gathered by the OWI from the wires of AP, UP, and INS, and picked up from the Washington and New York papers. We just processed it and cabled it to China.

Then I visited around at shorter periods in other parts, the draft section and some of the others. I do not know what they were called, except I have this recollection of moving around and trying to get a picture of what went on in regard to sending news material to

When I went to China, I was the news editor. We had a small newsroom which was just on the opposite end of one I had been on before. There we received the things I had been associated with in sending before. These we put out to the Chinese newspapers. That was my job for quite a while. Then, as I said before, I went down to Kweilin, in southeast China, where we had an office. There I did much the same work, but it was in a different place.

Then later I went to Kunming and worked in the office there, again in much the same job. Then toward the latter part of the war we set up the psychological warfare section, and I moved over into that as sort of doing more liaison work with General Chennault and the 14th Air Force. Mostly that part was concerned with the dropping

of leaflets, just the mechanics of contact.

Mr. Carpenter, Mr. Powell, I have here a copy of the China Weekly Review under date of March 12, 1950, which has an article entitled "Changes in Shanghai's Press," by Alun Falconer. This document states that there were changes in the Shanghai press.

Is it true, as he says, that the assets of newspapers were confiscated

by the Chinese Communist government?

Mr. Powell. Some newspapers.

Mr. CARPENTER. Were the assets of the China Weekly Review confiscated?

Mr. Powell. No.

Mr. Carpenter. Is it true that the culture and educational committee of the Chinese Communist Government administered various newspapers in Shanghai?

Mr. Powell. That I do not recall, but did he say that newspapers, all the newspapers were confiscated? I would be inclined to doubt

Mr. Carpenter. I just said there were some newspaper—assets of some newspapers were confiscated.

Mr. Powell. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. You state that the China Weekly Review was not confiscated?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. How did you operate when the Chinese Communists came in and took over Shanghai?

Mr. Powell. Just the same as before, just like the British papers, the French papers, and the other foreign papers operated. We just went along like that, as did most of the Chinese papers.

Mr. Carpenter. How many Chinese or how many English newspapers and magazines were printed in Shanghai prior to takeover by

the Communists?

Mr. Powell. There was the British daily. There was the American daily. There were two Chinese-owned dailies. There was our magazine-in fact, we had two magazines then. There was at least one British magazine and there was a French paper which had been a daily, but it might have been a weekly at that point. I think there was 1 or 2 Russian language papers published by the local Russian——

Mr. Carpenter. I was asking only for the English. How many English language newspapers remained after the Chinese Commu-

nists took over in Shanghai?

Mr. Powell. One by one they began to fall off. One English language paper, the Shanghai Herald, was the Kuomintang, the Chiang Kai-shek government paper. That was closed. There was another paper, the China Press, owned by Dr. H. H. Kung, Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law, which was the paper I used to work on. That was closed. There was quite a long lapse before any of the others folded.

Mr. Carpenter. In this article written by Falconer, it declares that the newspapers face many problems and shortages. There have been

serious shortages of newsprint.

Was the China Weekly Review faced with any such shortages?

Mr. Powell. What?

Mr. Carpenter. Capital and newsprint.

Mr. Powell. The way we always did. Getting newsprint in China was quite an interesting proposition. Under the Kuomintang, under Chiang Kai-shek's regime, you could get—if you were in a favorable position—an allotment of newsprint. You were permitted to import it. By that token you also got a license to buy foreign exchange at the official rate. In those days, newsprint used to sell for a hundred dollars a ton on the world market. In Shanghai on the black market it sometimes sold up to \$2,500.50 a ton. If you were on the inside with Chiang Kai-shek, you could get a special allotment and foreign exchange at the official rate which enabled you to buy newsprint below the world market price, say around \$50 a ton.

We were never able to get that. We always had to buy it on the black market. When the situation changed, we were just about in the same position. We continued to buy it on the open market. It

had a rather high price.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you own the presses that printed your China

Monthly Review?

Mr. Powell. No, we printed on a British-owned press, the Millingtons, a British firm in China.

Mr. Carpenter. All the time it was being published?

Mr. Powell. No, not all the time. Before the war we used to print there, and when I came back after the war, Millingtons were badly damaged by the Chinese, and we printed in the Mercury, a press owned by Mr. C. V. Starr, in New York. Later when these closed—they were the first casualty among the American papers—we moved back to Millingtons.

Mr. Carpenter. In this article by Falconer, it states:

The common program of the People's Political Consulting Conference and the principles and policies it enunciates determine the editorial policies of Shanghai newspapers.

Was the editorial policy of the China Weekly Review so determined?

Mr. Powell. I don't quite follow that. Is that what it says?

Mr. Carpenter. That is what he says:

That the common program of the People's Political Consulting Conference and the principles and policies it enunciates, determine the editorial policies of the Shanghai newspapers.

Mr. Powell. I would say that was not a very clear statement. I think the point was that this common program is considered, has

been until just recently, their sort of draft constitution. I think the point was you were not supposed to, you know, incite to riot, and in any other way violate this constitution. That was sort of a general guiding principle.

Mr. Carpenter. At this time I would like to enter into the record the article from the China Weekly Review of March 11, 1950, entitled "Changes in Shanghai's Press" by Alun Falconer and make it a part

of the record.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and be made a part of the record.

(The document referred was marked "Exhibit No. 465" and appears

in the appendix to this volume at p. 1979.).

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you advertise for subscriptions to your Review in the United States while you were the editor?

Mr. Powell. How do you mean advertise? We used to have a

rate in the magazines, of course.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you do any advertising in the United States? Mr. Powell. That I don't particularly recall. I don't remember. Mr. Carpenter. What was your advertised rate for subscriptions

to the Review?

Mr. Powell. Oh, you mean subscription rates?

Mr. CARPENTER. I beg your pardon?

Mr. Powell. The subscription rate or advertising rate?

Mr. Carpenter. What was your subscription rate?

Mr. Powell. Well, it changed when we changed from a weekly to a monthly, and I don't really recall just now. It used to be \$8. I don't remember.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you circulate this magazine abroad?

Mr. Powell. Yes; quite a few copies went abroad.

Mr. CARPENTER. Where did they go?

Mr. Powell. Well, they went wherever there were subscribers. I don't quite see the purpose of all of this. It seems to me this is being on the rather technical side of things.

Mr. Carpenter. It may be, but I want to know the circulation of this newspaper that you edited in China. Did you circulate in the

United States?

Mr. Powell. Yes, we had subscribers in the United States.

Mr. Carpenter. England?

Mr. Powell. I would think we had some there.

Mr. Carpenter. Canada?

Mr. Powell. I would imagine so.

Mr. Carpenter. Australia?

Mr. Powell. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. India?

Mr. Powell. I imagine we had some.

Mr. Carpenter. Southeast Asia?

Mr. Powell. No; I don't think we had so many in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Carpenter. And you had circulation in China?

Mr. Powell. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. How big was your circulation in China?

Mr. Powell. It varied. Before the change there it was larger and after, it was smaller. It was a variable thing.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you supply copies to the Chinese Communist

government?

Mr. Powell. I don't know. If they bought any, they were at liberty to buy it. It was on the newsstands.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you remember how many copies you sold?

Mr. Powell. Not at any given time; no.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you receive letters from subscribers in the United States?

Mr. Powell. I suppose—I didn't handle circulation, but I presume we must have had letters of renewals and such things.

Mr. CARPENTER. Who handled your circulation?

Mr. Powell. Some people in the office, the circulation manager.

Mr. Carpenter. I notice in your circulation or in your magazine, when you receive letters from the United States you use initials and not the full names. Can you tell the committee why you didn't publish the full name?

Mr. Powell. I think this is getting into an area in which I see no useful purpose, and also it seems to me to be beginning to bear upon personalities and some other things which I declined earlier to go into. So I would like to take my constitutional privilege at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. The same record, Mr. Reporter. When he states his constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment for his answer it is on the ground that he is not required to give testimony against

Mr. Carpenter. At this time I would like to enter into the record an excerpt from the China Monthly Review of February 1953, pages 114 to 118.

The CHAIRMAN. The document may go into the record. Mr. CARPENTER. This is called Letters From the People.

(The document refered to was marked "Exhibit No. 466" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 466

[From the China Monthly Review, February 1953]

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited; their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of the China Monthly Review. In the past several months, the Review has received numerous complaints from subscribers in the United States of America reporting an unusually large number of missing copies. More recently, the number of complaints has risen greatly. Consequently, we sent a letter to all subscribers in America asking them to report missing copies, and offering to adjust their subscriptions accordingly. In the past few weeks we have received several dozen letters in answer. Here is a sampling of them. (In view of the atmosphere currently prevailing in the United States, we have felt it advisable to identify the writers by their initials only.—Editor.)

California

I am taking a number of papers and magazines and pass them on to friends, and so I have not kept a close check. However, I have here your June issue, and that seems to be the last one I received. It will all work out in time, and while we are at present somewhat muzzled here, it is gratifying to follow the wonderful progress being made at your end of the line. It is really something new in the world, to cause folks everywhere to sit up and take notice. A higher power than most know is quite certainly at work, and will continue along that line.

Cleveland, Ohio

I have never received any copies. It would be useless and even quixotic to inquire. Real repression exists. I'm having a friend abroad secure your maga-

J. P. M.

zine and mail it to me. Thus you will have two readers. Be of good heart. There is great progress in spite of all obstacles.

L. O. G.

Honolulu, T. H.

Well, today I found out why there's been such a long delay getting the Review. I called Customs and they told me to call the post office. Because the solicitor in Washington, after examining the Review, found it to contain political propaganda, he declared it inadmissible to the mail. Not only that, but they've destroyed the magazines on hand. I asked why they never informed me of that. They don't inform the addressee, they told me.

As you might imagine, I got pretty hotheaded about it but, of course, that don't do any good. They're now in the book-burning stage here. You may have seen that they're also enforcing an amendment to a 1937 housing bill which makes the loyalty oath a prerequisite to living in any housing project that's been financed by Federal funds. With that kind of law, of course, they can make it illegal to ride on a Federal highway or buy a Federal postage stamp—unless you've taken the loyalty oath. Remember, one used to wonder how the German people could let Hitler happen?

E. R.

New England

The only issue of China Monthly Review which we have not received recently is that for March 1952. As we bind this periodical annually, we would prefer if possible, to have this missing issue replaced. If, however, this cannot be done, we shall accept a 1 month's extension of our subscription.

A public library.

Kansas

It has been several months since I have received the Review. I have been on the Government's blacklist for many years and am not surprised they won't let me get it. However, this widespread stoppage of the Review coming to subscribers in the States is most likely due to your articles on germ warfare. Pentagon has good reasons to hide the facts from our people. I do not want you to make good the missing copies as you are not to be blamed for the corruption of our elected officials. Put me down for another year and let me know the cost. O. W. J.

California

We have received all issues through July 1952.

A university.

California

Have missed last two issues. Maybe United States authorities are holding them up to get names of those in our country subversive enough to want to know what's really going on in China. If so, here's my name for 'em again. I am not satisfied to remain in ignorance behind the Truman-Acheson iron curtain.

A. E. S.

Washington, D. C.

We failed to receive the Review for December 1951, and January-May 1952, a total of six issues. We shall therefore appreciate an extension of our subscription.

International Monetary Fund.

Chicago, Ill.

The last issue I received was for June. Your magazine is the most reliable source of news and information that I receive about the true conditions in China today as we cannot depend on the press or radio in this country to tell us the facts about what is really happening in the world. The American people are the worst-informed people in the world today instead of the best-informed as they should be with their 1,785 daily newspapers, which contain, with the exception of perhaps a dozen papers, just a lot of propaganda and lies. Wishing you every success in your fight to inform the world as to the true conditions in China today.

Los Angeles

All issues have been received and enjoyed. We congratulate you on getting out a very fine publication both technically and especially as to content. We thank you for a good job.

M. F.

Florida

I ordered your magazine in March, but I have not received one copy to date. Am very much interested in what is taking place in China, economically and socially, and I do hope I will receive my copy of your magazine.

M. E. C.

Pennsylvania

We wish to advise you that we have received nothing since December 1951.

A college.

Illinois

The last issue we received was the November 1951 issue. We have received no issues since then and would greatly appreciate it if it will be possible for us to have the publication sent to us again.

A public library.

California

Something has stopped my receiving the Review magazine. The last issue I received was for August 1952. My magazine Soviet Union has also stopped. Don't we have a devil of a time getting information from behind the bamboo and iron curtain.

C. L. M.

Oregon

I was glad to get your letter and to know that you too realized something was mightly peculiar about the way the Review was coming through so irregularly.

When I didn't get four issues in a row, I made a fuss with my local post office, but they assured me that they had never heard of it and wouldn't hold up any of my mail. I guess they hadn't. Must have been some people far more important than they to take this liberty with our personal mail.

And it must be that your magazine is getting better and better if they feel so

strongly about our not reading it.

Put me down for another year. One way to get my back up is to tell me I'm not supposed to read certain material. It always makes me go to all pains to read it, so I hope you can find some way of getting your magazine here regularly. We must know what's going on in that great country China if we are to have peace, and your magazine is the only reliable source I've seen so far.

A. S.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you publish in the China Monthly Review the following excerpt from a letter of one of your readers from California:

The United States Post Office has confiscated and destroyed all copies it has been able to spot. It has done this under the 18 Code 1717, a regulation containing a number of unrepealed wartime restrictions.

Did that appear in your paper, and did you publish it?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Let the record show that the witness conferred with counsel.

Mr. Powell. I think I will make the same answer. I will take my constitutional privilege on such questions.

The Chairman. Under the fifth amendment, he is not required to

testify against himself.

Mr. CARPENTER. This is headed "Letters to Subscribers in the U. S. A." It is from the China Monthly Review of February 1953. I would like for this to be made a part of the record.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of

the record.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 467" and appears below.)

EXHIBIT No. 467

[From the China Monthly Review, February 1953]

LETTER TO SUBSCRIBERS IN THE U. S. A.

Dear Friends: Since we first wrote asking you to report missing copies we have solved the "mystery." Several subscribers have reported the results of

their investigations. Here is what one reader in California writes:

"The United States Post Office has confiscated and destroyed all copies it has been able to spot. It has done this under 18 Code 1717, a regulation containing a number of unrepealed wartime restrictions. An inquiry to the Post Office as to what specifically was objectionable in the Review brought forth the comment: This information is for post-office employees only."

Among the types of material considered unmailable under this code are publi-

cations urging treason, insurrection, and so ou.

None of the objections listed could be twisted to apply to the Review. This explains why the United States Post Office, when pushed for a definite explanation, attempts to defend its action by saying that the reason cannot be made

public. This is thought control, pure and simple.

Unpopularity with officialdom is not a new experience for us, although this is the first time the Review has experienced difficulties getting into the United States. An American-owned magazine established in Shanghai in 1917, the Review has always done its best to report accurately developments in China. As a result, we are accustomed to trouble. In the twenties, when we editorially endorsed the Nationalist movement as opposed to the regional warlord regime, we encountered opposition from the foreign vested interests in China which preferred to see a weak and divided country.

In the thirties we opposed the Japanese invasion of China and warned of the coming Pacific war. The Japanese Government banned the Review, seized copies from the mails and even tried to assassinate the editor. In the postwar period, the Review reported the corruption and degradation of Chiang Kai-shek's regime and foresaw its ignominious defeat. Again, we were at loggerheads with

Chiang and his American supporters.

For the past three and a half years we have been carrying on as usual—giving our honest estimation of the new China, reporting the tremendous achievements which this country has made and is making. Again, we are met with hostility by the same old crowd: those who fear the truth. The Review is currently banned in Malaya by the British colonial authorities, in Japan by the American puppet Yoshida regime—and now in the United States distribution is interferred with by a Government which fears lest its people learn a few basic truths about this part of the world—such as the fact that China has a progressive and honest government for the first time in its history, such as the facts of American germ warfare in Korea and China.

We have yet to trim our sails to prevailing winds and do not propose to do so now. We shall continue to report the developments here as we honestly see them and we shall continue to make every effort to see that your copy of the

Review reaches you.

You can help by protesting this arbitrary official interference with the Review to your postmaster and to the Postmaster General in Washington. The Government's action is illegal and cannot withstand public examination. If the protest is strong enough; Washington will have no alternative but to rescind it. We have great faith in our people and are convinced that they will not allow official-dom to put blinders on them, to decide what is suitable for them to read and think.

The Editors.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you and your fellow editors urge your readers to protest this so-called arbitrary interference to your postmaster and to the Postmaster General in Washington?

Mr. Powell. Again I think we are in an area where I must decline to answer. I think we are getting into an area now where I think I

can claim the privilege, again, under the first amendment.

The Chairman. We will not recognize your refusal to answer the question under the first amendment.

Mr. Powell. May I ask you how you recognize—which way would you recognize the freedom of speech portion of the first amendment?

The Chairman. He did not ask you about freedom of speech. He asked you a specific question, whether or not you did a certain thing. It wasn't about a speech you made or anything you uttered or said, whether or not you did. We are not here as a debating society at all.

Mr. Powell. Well, I-all right.

The Chairman. I order and direct that you answer the question. Mr. Powell. I will take my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. All right.

Mr. Carpenter. At this time I would like to read a letter received August 11, 1954, from the Post Office Department, Office of the Solicitor, Washington 25, D. C.:

(The letter referred to follows:)

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR,
Washington, D. C.

Col. ALVA C. CARPENTER,

Counsel, Internal Security Subcommittee, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR COLONEL CARPENTER: This will acknowledge your letter of August 5, 1954, relative to the activities of J. W. Powell, editor and publisher of the China Monthly Review. I note that Powell has returned to the United States after

terminating the said magazine.

Under an opinion of the Attorney General dated December 10, 1940 (39 op. A. G. 535) foreign political propaganda disseminated in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act may be disposed of as nonmailable matter under the provisions of law now incorporated in section 1717 of title 18, United States Code (39 CFR 36.5). Pursuant to this opinion many foreign publications have been withdrawn from the mails and disposed of as nonmailable.

According to our file, a number of copies of China Monthly Review were ruled nonnailable during the latter part of 1952 and in 1953 as well. I enclose for your examination a copy of the January 1952 issue of the paid publication, from which you will readily see the propaganda line followed therein. Please return this magazine after it has served your purpose.

Sincerely yours,

ABE McGregor Goff, The Solicitor.

Mr. CARPENTER. I would like at this time to have this made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The document referred to and read in full above by Mr. Carpenter,

was filed with the committee.)

Mr. CARPENTER. At any time were the presses on which you published the China Monthly Review owned by the Chinese Communist Government?

Mr. Powell. I have already told you that question. I have told you where we published.

Mr. Carpenter. You told me about some others. I want to know

if the Chinese Communist Government owned those presses.

Mr. Powell. Well, I will tell you now, as I told you before, I am not prepared to answer any questions of this nature regarding the magazine. I don't feel they are pertinent. And I also certainly wish to claim my privilege under the fifth amendment, on this question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you publish a Chinese version of the China Monthly Review? Did you publish in Chinese?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness, before responding, conferred with counsel.

Mr. Powell. No.

Mr. Carpenter. Were your employees in the China Monthly Review organized, unionized?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show, again, that the witness confers with counsel before responding.

Mr. Powell. I will take my constitutional privilege.

The Chairman. Under the fifth amendment. The same record, Mr. Reporter. He is not required to give an answer which will incriminate him.

Mr. Carpenter. Did the Communist union or did the union have

any voice in the publishing of your magazine?

Mr. Powell. I told you before, I was the editor. If you want to reopen the issue and get specific, I will take the same answers to the last question, the constitutional privilege.

Mr. Carpenter. What were your relations between the China

Monthly Review and the New China News Agency?

Mr. Powell. The same answer.

The Chairman. The same record, Mr. Reporter. Mr. Carpenter. Did the Communist union ever take possession of the Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, where your China Monthly Review was published or printed?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness before responding, conferred with his counsel.

Mr. Powell. I think the same answer.

The Chairman. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. CARPENTER. I have a document here from the China Weekly Review, dated March 18, 1950, headed—

New China News Agency-Yenan to Peking. Founded in Yenan in 1936 as a mimeographed newssheet, the NCNA today is the official news agency for China with offices here and abroad.

The article recites that it was founded in Yenan, as I say, in 1936, that it appeared as a mimeographed newssheet containing news broadcasts monitored from the news agencies of Britain, United States, France, Japan, as well as the KMT and that it was on this newssheet that the isolated bases of the Communist Party depended for information from the outside world.

It also said—

The New China News Agency has had a parallel growth with the revolutionary war waged by the Chinese Communist Party under whose leadership it began.

There are other descriptive paragraphs which I will not read at this

I would like for this to go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The document referred to was filed with the committee, marked "Exhibit No. 468," and appears in the appendix to this volume

at p. 1984.)

Mr. Carpenter. You carried some advertising in your China Weekly and Monthly Review, did you not, Mr. Powell, American

Mr. Powell. I think the same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You claim your privilege under the fifth amendment to that question?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

The Chairman. The same record, Mr. Reporter. Mr. Carpenter. You had considerable advertising in your newspaper prior to the taking over of Shanghai by the Communists, didn't

Mr. Powell. The same answer.

Mr. Carpenter. You only had two advertisers, when you closed. I believe.

Mr. Powell. The same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Chairman, the staff prepared an itemized list here of the China Weekly Review, as we have gone through them.

The CHAIRMAN. And monthly?

Mr. Carpenter. Weekly and Monthly Review. It shows the firms that advertised and the dates. I would like at this time to have this made a part of the record.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and will become a part

of the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 469" and appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1987.)

Mr. Carpenter. Where did you secure the finances to operate the

China Monthly Review, Mr. Powell?

Mr. Powell. Well, I tried to tell you about that a while ago. I thought you didn't want to hear it. We had several sources of income. The magazine itself was always very sort of a touch and go proposition. That was true when my father ran it. It was never a gold mine as an economic proposition. After the war I started a daily translation service which we started very early in the morning, we got the Chinese papers, and translated mostly economic regulations and items of economic and trade and commercial interest. We put out 10, maybe sometimes as many as 20 legal-size pages. We distributed this, sold it, to the foreign business community in Shanghai, mostly. was a very profitable operation. So when the Review was in slimmer days, we were always able to operate from that if we had to. We had a couple of other publications. We had a monthly report. We found very shortly after the end of the war that the larger foreign firms, their head offices, required them to submit at the end of each month a general estimate of the situation in China, and many of these people were unable to do this. They didn't know very much about it. So we wrote a little thing we called the Monthly Report, which we also sold to them. We put it out a few days before the end of the month so they could take what they wanted out of it for their monthly reports to their head offices here and in other foreign countries. Then we had an economic magazine which we ran for quite a while that also was a profitable operation. We used to periodically publish a book, a thing called Who's Who in China, which usually paid for itself. So out of these various ways we financed our whole operation, sometimes more or less from any one given thing.

Mr. CARPENTER. Who paid for the copies of your China Weekly and

Monthly Review that were sent to the POW camps in Korea?

Mr. Powell. That is an implication; isn't it? Is that a straight

The CHAIRMAN. It is a question.

Mr. Powell. In that form, I would decline, I would take my

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you know a Mr. Randall Gould, in Shanghai? Mr. Powell. Again we are moving into the realm of personalities, and I will decline under the privilege.

The Chairman. Same record, Mr. Reporter. Mr. Carpenter. What were your associations with Mr. Randall Gould in Shanghai?

Mr. Powell. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. CARPENTER. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like Mr. Mandel to read a letter relative to Mr. Gould.

Mr. Mandel. This is a letter dated August 29, 1954, from Mr. Randall Gould, addressed to me:

DEAR MR. MANDEL: Your second request arrives just as I am getting started on a number of things which must be done before we go off on vacation September In the matter of William Powell's weekly-John William, known generally as "Bill"—I can give you either a very quick answer or one requiring some research. As to research, I have reason to think that the State Department through its consular representatives in Shanghai has extremely interesting copies of the China Weekly Review such as I do not have, though I believe that the manuscripts of my unpublished book contains some material not lying at the top of my present recollection which has need of refreshment.

The short answer about Powell and the Review is this: You ask the extent to which the paper and its editor were subject to restrictions when the Communists took over, and I reply that he and the magazine were subject to no perceptible restrictions nor were any needed because they took a virtually 100

percent pro-Communist line.

In degree, the Review figures in my own story as summed up in my letter The magazine was being printed by the Mercury Press, which was the job-printing department of the Post-Mercury Co., Federal Inc. USA, publisher of the Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, and we were also undertaking publication of a proposed Who's Who in China which Powell intended to put out and which was the cause of much trouble for me because Powell made financial claims against us on which I lacked adequate information after our trouble with the Communist-directed labor union and my discharge of our former business manager, Fred Douglas, because of his attitude which I considered disloyal to myself and our enterprise. Douglas, now in this country, is not important but he in his way is another story, and he was friendly toward Powell in our time of trouble.

The Review during the days of its founder, J. B. Powell, father of "Bill," took a distinctly pro-Nationalist line and was American in basis. When "Bill" resumed its publication after the war the magazine was uniformly critical of the Nationalists, but during his father's life Bill occasionally printed contributed articles by J. B., who, of course, was not in Shanghai, so none of us discussed the situation. The articles were signed and usually at variance with Bill's resistion. On the other head, they beginned and usually at variance with Bill's position. On the other hand, the Nationalist rule was so had—particularly during some 70 days of economic dictatorship by the generalissimo's son Chiang Ching-kuo in the late summer of autumn of 1948-that criticism of the Nationalists was general among the American community and foreigners generally. Let me mention that I was, throughout the postwar period, a member of the board of directors of the Shanghai American Chamber of Commerce, also of the board of the Shanghai American Community, the two American organizations. Bill Powell once ran for the board of the American chamber, a position his father had held, but he was defeated. People were not at that time hostile to him but he was felt to be pretty leftist and his associates were not the American community leaders but rather somewhat leftist journalists and others not especially well known.

I must confess ignorance of factors behind the Review but believe it would be interesting to learn more. It chanced that during the midthirties I ran across the clear fact that the Nationalist Government bought a considerable number of copies of the Review and sent them out to various people mainly overseas. There were rumors that J. B. Powell was subsidized by the Nationalists, but my own impression was that the support took on wholly the form of helping on circulation. After the war I heard rumors, which I can't substantiate, that there was either similar Nationalist support for a while or offer of it, but that the Nationalists understandably didn't care for Bill's critical attitude and could hardly use the magazine as he ran it for propaganda purposes. But he was not restricted, of course.

With arrival of the Communists it immediately became clear that Bill Powell was taking a twofold attitude: (a) Unquestioning and uncritical support of the new regime, and (b) a somewhat nasty, hostile attitude toward his fellow

Americans.

The best instance I can summon to mind offhand, illustrating both points, had to do with the scandalous mistreatment of a United States consular official, Bill Olive, during June 1949, if I am not mistaken. Olive was out in a jeep one morning when the People's Government suddenly changed its announced plans for a victory parade (because it feared air raids by the Nationalists if it kept to schedule, we understood) and cleared certain streets in order to hold the parade immediately. Having no means of keeping touch with events, Olive blundered into one of these cleared streets, failed to stop as promptly as a policeman desired, was arrested, and was subjected to exceptionally bad treatment including beating, kicking, etc., over a period of several days during which efforts by his consular associates were not only frustrated but a couple of them were placed under arrest for bringing their ears into a forbidden area at the police station. Everyone in town kept pretty close track of the whole thing and when Olive was released, it was general belief that the reason was orders from the higher ups in Peking. At any rate Olive soon received special dispensation to leave China from Nanking with the Ambassador, Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, which supported the belief mentioned.

Powell in reporting this affair disclosed a strategy he was often to use. This was to pretend that he had little access to the facts, but that on a basis of what he knew the situation seemed one of foreign, or American, arrogance as against Chinese moderation. We knew Olive had been grossly abused on a most unjust basis from any civilized point of view and the Review came in for intense criticism on this incident as with many others. The United States consulate general asked Powell to come over and receive firsthand information, including a talk with Olive and a view of photos of his body when he got out

of Communist hands, but he had a ready excuse and did not go.

Meanwhile, Powell was taking the side of our Communist-backed union in my own battle for a free press. What was even more serious, he disregarded a notice that from July 1 (as I recall, or perhaps the end of June) he was not to use our facilities. The union was in forcible occupation of our premises, contrary to my wish of course, and Powell had his magazine printed through several issues which was an important technical point, for both the union and the authorities took the position that I was remiss in not administering the enterprise (including of course our newspaper) as a going concern and that if anyone were in the wrong it was exclusively myself. This was a tricky tactic, for actually I had no special reason for objecting to continuation of our job printing work aside from the existence of a controversy on principle as to whether the Communists, through [the] union, were to dominate our newspaper. In other words, Powell lent himself to an effort by Communists and union alike to make it seem that I was being thoroughly wrong-headed and that the union was doing its duty by continuing to handle Powell's magazine and anything else that might offer. At the same time Powell brought forward claims, to me preposterous, having to do with financial matters. Since our business manager had been discharged and

the rest of the business office was in the union, I had no way of investigating what Powell said. Just what settlement finally may have been made between Powell and the representative of our main owners, C. V. Starr [and] Charles Miner, I do not know; both remained after my departure September 25, 1949, and the wrangle was transferred to Miner's hands. Powell made no effort to block the eventual departure of my wife and myself after large "termination payments" to the workers and his attitude then seemed in line with his general determination to be agreeable to the wishes of the Communist authorities. In other words, once the authorities decided to let Mrs. Gould and myself go, Powell's obstructionism vanished. He took his magaizne to another print shop sometime in either late July or August. I was never paid or offered anything (though I was general manager and president of Post-Mercury Co.) for the issues put out after our labor trouble, but heard he paid the union-not enough, they said.

The line of his magazine had become so clearly Communist by late summer that American advertisers pulled out as rapidly as they could. Despite contracts, not

a single American ad appeared in the issue just before our departure.

Powell printed an ugly editorial against me, though without naming me, after

my departure, and I received a copy through Hongkong.

I saw occasional copies of the Review, which dropped to monthly instead of weekly publication, and it was extremely anti-American especially after the Korea trouble. In one issue I found photographs and articles purporting to prove the truth of the Communist claims that we had dropped germ bombs. It is likely that I could dig up a copy or two but I am sure they were being acquired by our authorities, as the Review had free access to the United States at that

Powell's reason for departure, as you no doubt know, was financial stringency. My impression is that the Communists actually did little if anything for him except let him alone, though there was a certain smell of subsidy about a magazine relying exclusively on circulation income as seemed the case in issues after my departure—the Reader's Digest got rich that way but not the China Monthly

Review.

The last I heard of Powell he was in San Francisco after some traveling

around this country.

I have been considerably surprised that he and his wife, who was regarded as very leftist indeed and formerly [in] the entourage of Madam Sun Yat-sen, have not been the objects of any conspicuous official curiosity. What I have said in the foregoing from memory represents the broad outline of my knowledge of Powell, aside from the fact that I saw him a couple of times in Kunming, where he represented OWI during the war, and that I knew him before the war when he came out uninvited and joined his father rather to the annovance of the latter, who (according to Bill) sometimes introduced him as a brother rather than a son, apparently from motives of personal vanity though I found it hard to believe this of J. B. The big question in my mind is how much documentation Washington has on Bill's journalistic record. There is no excuse for our failing to have in official hands a full file of the magazine and unless I definitely learn this is not so, I don't feel disposed to go to a lot of work digging around my own stuff.

With best regards,

(Signed) RANDALL GOULD.

P. S .- Of course I have no evidence of Bill's membership in anything but his acts were those of a person entirely in the Red bag.

The Chairman. Do you have any comments to make on that letter, Mr. Powell?

Mr. Powell. Mr. Gould and I had differences of opinion. Mr. Carpenter. I ask that this letter be made a part of the record.

The Chairman. It is a part of the record. Mr. Sourwine. Where is Mr. Gould?

Mr. Mandel. Mr. Powell, did you circulate your magazine through the International Book Stores at 1408 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.?

Mr. Powell. I decline to answer under the privilege.

The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Was your magazine, China Monthly Review, distributed through Collett's Subscription Bureau at 40 Russell Street, London, England?

Mr. Powell. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Was the magazine sent to England from the United States?

Mr. Powell. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you have any connection with the National Guardian in New York City?

Mr. Powell. Same answer. The CHAIRMAN. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Powell, you had a reporting staff on your newspaper in China, did you not?

Mr. Powell. That is correct.

Mr. Carpenter. And who were those reporters, if you recall?

Mr. Powell. Well, I think you have some copies of the magazine. They are probably listed there.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you have any Americans employed on the China Weekly Review, later the China Monthly Review, who were news gatherers or reporters for your magazine?

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show the witness confers with coun-

sel before responding to the question propounded.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Powell. Same answer. The Chairman. What answer?

Mr. Powell. I claim my constitutional privilege.

The Chairman. All right, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. Carpenter. Was Mary Barrett one of your contributors?

Mr. Powell. Same answer.

Mr. Carpenter. Was Monica Felton one of the contributors to your magazine?

Mr. Powell. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Was Rose Yardumian one of your news gatherers?

Mr. Powell. Same answer. The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Sidney Shapiro.

Mr. Powell. Same answer.

The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. Was Julian Schuman associated with you in the China Monthly Review?

Mr. Powell. Same answer.

The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. William Bergess?

Mr. Powell. Same answer.

The Chairman. Same record.

Mr. Carpenter. How did you secure your news articles, Mr. Powell?

Mr. Powell. Well, just like any other magazine does. I suppose you are familiar with the usual process. You have an editorial staff. You have editors, you have some rewrite people. You have a certain amount of research, and you have—we had, particularly—a lot of contributors. Many of them were people who we had had for a long

time. I inherited quite a group from my father.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you publish from time to time in your China Weekly Review and China Monthly Review lists of American prisoners of war in the hands of the Chinese Communists, together with their serial numbers and address?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Senator Johnston (presiding). You have been asked a question.

Mr. Boudin. The witness is consulting me, Senator. Mr. Powell. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. Carpenter. Did you publish from time to time lists of American prisoners of war in the hands of the Chinese Communists, together with their serial number and address?

Mr. Powell. I remember we published lists of American POW's,

yes.

Mr. Carpenter. Exactly how did you obtain those lists?

Mr. Powell. From the Chinese papers.

Mr. Carpenter. What was the purpose of publishing them?

Mr. Powell. We thought it was information which people would like to have. At this point there had been no sort of official exchange of information. These were names of POW's, most of whom got their names in the papers through writing letters to papers or making some statements, and we copied them out of the papers and ran them.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you give these lists to the American author-

ities when you received them? Did you make any attempt to?

Mr. Powell. To give them to the American authorities?

Mr. Carpenter. That is right.

Mr. Powell. Well, our magazine went to the American authorities; yes. But they, I think the American authorities, had the names all the time, because all of this material was broadcast on the Chinese radio.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you give the lists to American authorities at

the time of the negotiations for the exchange of prisoners?

Mr. Powell. No; we just published this list. That is all we did.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you give these lists to the National Guardian, a pro-Communist magazine, whose editor, Cedric Belfrage, is now a subject of deportation proceedings as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Powell. We published them and anybody who subscribed to the

magazine could get them.

Mr. Carpenter, Did you have any connection with the National Guardian in New York City?

Mr. Powell. I assume they, like other subscribers, if they sub-

scribed to it, got them.

Mr. Carpenter. Were the names that you published—those men who had signed the various Communist appeals for peace—were they given to understand that they would be rewarded by having it announced in the United States, for the information of their families, that they were alive?

Mr. Powell. I don't know anything about that.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you ever contact or write any people in the United States relative to their loved ones who were in prisoner-of-war camps in North Korea?

Mr. Powell. As I recall, sometimes when an address would come through, completely, which was not always the case by any means,

sometimes we used to just send them on. Maybe we would make a clip. If they had made a statement, we would clip it out of the paper and mail it to them.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you ever write personal letters to anyone in the

United States who had loved ones in prisoner-of-war camps?

Mr. Powell. I think we probably wrote them letters including the clips.

Mr. Carpenter. I don't say "we," I say "you."

Mr. Powell. I expect so, enclosing these clippings. Yes; I would think so.

Mr. Carpenter. What was the nature of those letters, do you recall?

Mr. Powell. I don't recall. If you have some, let's see them.

Mr. Carpenter. I have two letters here, written to Mrs. Charles L. Gill, at 7418 Jefferson Street, Kansas City, Mo. One is dated January 10, 1951, and the other January 15, 1951, signed by John W. Powell. I will ask you to look at those documents and state whether or not that is your signature appearing at the bottom of those two letters.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The Chairman. Is that your signature, Mr. Powell, on those two letters?

Mr. Powell. Well, I think these appear to be letters written by me; ves.

The Chairman. Let me see them.

Mr. Powell. And they enclose these clippings that were clipped from the papers in China.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean when you said this:

We know from the clippings and magazines we receive from home that there has been little if any news on the American POW's, except the fabricated atrocity stories, and we felt the enclosed clippings from the local papers here might give you some reassurance.

Just what did you mean to tell this lady? You heard her testify here earlier. What did you mean to tell her about it?

Mr. Powell. I don't think you have a right to inquire into phrases. The Chairman. This is your letter, your signature. What did you mean by writing this lady this kind of a letter?

Mr. Powell. I think in—

The Chairman. You are an American citizen. You are under oath here. Don't sit there and tell me what I have a right to do. Why did you write this lady this kind of a letter?

Mr. Powell. Would you like me to answer?

The Chairman. Yes; I would.

Mr. Powell. If you give me a chance, I will be more than glad to answer.

The Chairman. You have the chance.

Mr. Powell. I think this invades what I have written. I don't think you have a position to question me on this. The letter is there. You can read it. You have read it here. I think to be cross-examined in this place by you on various points in the letter—I think I am covered by the first amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. You must have a motive for writing this kind of a

letter. What was your motive?

Mr. Powell. I decline to answer under the provisions of the first amendment regarding my freedom of expression.

The Chairman. Of course we do not recognize that, and you know that, Mr. Powell.

Mr. Powell. In that event, I will decline under the constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. Now, Mr. Powell:

From our own personal observation of the action of the Chinese People's Government here in Shanghai, we know it is the policy to treat all prisoners captured, Kuomintang soldiers, as well as criminals, with the greatest leniency and fairness in order to win over their support. We are sure this is the same policy being carried out by the Chinese volunteers in Korea. This accounts for the numerous statements of gratitude and good will of American POW's which appear in our local papers almost daily.

What was your reason for writing that?

Mr. Powell. I think the letter as a whole speaks; it is there, but as I say, with all due respect, I don't think you have the right to cross-

examine me on phrases in this letter.

The Chairman. Mr. Powell, you have reporters gathering news. You heard the major testify just a while ago. You know how they secured their demonstrations, how they got the smiles on the faces of American prisoners. You know how they were treated. As a news gathering agency, you had every reason to know how they were treated. Why did you write this to this woman, who is now a widow as the result of the atrocities of the Communists?

Mr. Powell. I can't answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You said from personal observation.

Mr. Powell. I said from personal observation of what I had seen of the treatment of Chinese POW's, Senator.

The Chairman. Senator Johnston, have you a question?

Senator Johnston. Could anyone put any interpretation upon this except to see that you were trying to convey to her and to the American people that the Communist in China was treating the prisoners very fine?

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness confers with his counsel before responding to the question of Senator Johnston.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Powell. Again I would decline to reply to your question again.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you decline to reply?

Mr. Powell. Because I believe that provisions in the first amendment, cover them.

The Chairman. We do not recognize your refusal to answer this question. I order and direct you to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. Powell. Well, I must decline, with all due respect, by taking my constitutional position on the fifth amendment, the constitutional privilege.

The Chairman. You go on and say:

In addition, there have been several demonstrations by large groups of American and British POW's, demanding the end of the dirty war, for after they have seen the hatred of the Korean people against the Singman Rhee government and the help being given them by the Americans for that hated clique, they cannot but feel this has all been one tragic mistake. We imagine many people in America must feel this way also.

Would you tell the committee why you would write this to this lady?

Mr. Powell. The same answer, Senator.

The Chairman. You refuse to answer under the fifth amendment?

Mr. Powell. Under my constitutional privilege.

The Chairman. Mr. Powell, you are not excused, but you will stand aside at this time from the witness stand. You will be recalled later, Call the next witness, please.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Baylor?

The Chairman. Will you be sworn to testify? Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Corporal Baylor. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CPL. PAGE THOMAS BAYLOR, JR., UNITED STATES ARMY

The CHAIRMAN. Would you give the committee your full name?

Corporal Baylor. Page Thomas Baylor, Jr. The Chairman. And where is your home?

Corporal Baylor. Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are in the armed services?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. What is your rank? Corporal Baylor. Corporal, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. How long have you been in the armed services?

Corporal Baylor. I have been in the armed services 4 years and 10 months.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you a prisoner of war during the Korean war?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. For how long a period? Corporal Baylor. Thirty-three months. Mr. Carpenter. Thirty-three months?

Corporal Baylor. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. When were you first captured?

Corporal Baylor. 27th of November 1950.

Mr. CARPENTER. In what camps were you imprisoned?

Corporal Baylor. I was imprisoned at two camps, camp 5 and camp 3.

Mr. Carpenter. In the course of your imprisonment, did you ever see copies of what is known as the China Weekly Review and the China Monthly Review?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Carpenter. Under what circumstances did you see that magazine?

Corporal Baylor. Well, we received that magazine about once a month, and we was forced to hold discussions on certain articles that was underlined in those magazines.

Mr. CARPENTER. And were you required to do that?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. Carpenter. Can you tell this committee your experiences and how you were indoctrinated by the things you read in the China Monthly Review, and the Weekly Review, and how you were treated if you didn't conform?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; I will. Well, sir, I was—one day I was talking with some friends of mine, and we was discussing over an

article in this magazine by Monica Felton. They had pointed out a monitor from each squad to hold these discussions in the prison compounds, and after you make your statement to this monitor he would take it back to headquarters and give it to the Chinese. My statement to this was disregarding the statement that we were discussing about Monica Felton. The Chinese said I was trying to overthrow their studies given by them to the rest of the American prisoners. That is why I was forced to go away from camp 5 and taken to camp 3, which was known as a reactionary labor camp. I was sent there on the 7th of August 1951. That is where I was sent. They told me either they was going to make me or break me, to be indoctrinated with their propaganda. So I told them that I don't care what they do, as long as I get something to eat.

This way, they said I was cunning and cute, so they put me in the hole for a period of 15 days. The first 3 days I was in this hole I didn't receive no kind of medical care or any type of thing to keep my body going. When I was released from this hole—during the time that I was in the hole, I was treated pretty bad. I got a couple of beatings by a rifle butt and a shovel, and during this tragedy they took and knocked my front teeth out and bruised my back pretty bad, and they gave me no kind of medical care at all. When I came back, I showed it to some of the fellows, and they asked me what they could do for me. And I told them just if I would write something to the propaganda, they would give me something to heal my wounds, and

so forth.

I still refused to do what they wanted me to do. Then I was sent back to the hole about a month later on another article from this China Monthly Review. It was an article on economical something about the capitalism, and I still refused to voice my opinion the way they wanted me to. So I was sent back this time for 33 days. That was the time I caught pneumonia. I had cold in my back, and in my legs, and in my side. I didn't never see nobody or ever hear of anything for 33 days while I was in this hole. Then I was released and they told me did I realize my mistake, and they forced me to write a confession that I was never to try to overthrow their powers in the prisoner-of-war camps, and not to try to keep the other prisoners from learning what they were teaching. Then I was sent back to camp 5 on the 17th of August 1952.

Mr. CARPENTER. What did the soldiers think of the China Monthly

Review?

Mr. Baylor. Most of the soldiers thought of the China Review as just something of a propaganda that they were trying to put over to us. Mr. Carpenter. Do you know anything about a peace petition that

was sponsored while you were in the prison camp?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you tell us about that, please?

Corporal Baylor. Well, during the first winter of 1951 they drew up some sort of Asiatic peace appeal, or something of that sort, and they were forcing us to sign this peace appeal. They threatened quite a few people that if everyone did not sign they was going to give them harsh treatment. They even made the sick, that died the next day or the previous days ahead, to sign this here peace appeal, not knowing what it was about. They would only have somebody read it to us and have us sign it.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you at one time form a group called The Boys, to oppose efforts of the indoctrination?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir. That was in camp 3. Mr. Carpenter. Will you tell us about that?

Corporal Baylor. Well, sir, a lot of times when we went on labor details to work, we had to unload a lot of these barges that came in, that would go to the main camp, which would be camp 5. Quite a few fellows that lived around Baltimore and Ohio, and so forth, we got together and used to see what we could take off of these boats and try to keep for ourselves. We called ourselves The Boys. They thought we was trying to get some kind of information to send it back to the United States. They took and put us all in the hole again for 5 days, and put us on a labor detail which was building a mud shack far down in the valley.

Mr. Carpenter. What opportunities were you given to write home? Corporal Baylor. Well, sir, the opportunities we was given to write home was apparently once a month, and then you had to write what

they wanted you to write or you didn't write at all.

Mr. CARPENTER. Was the China Monthly Review distributed to POW's, along with the other publications, in the English language? Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. CARPENTER. Can you name the others?

Corporal Baylor. Well, one was—I can't recall the names right now. The Shanghai News was one, and there was one called the Weekly Review.

Mr. Carpenter. I have a list of the magazines here that I would like to have shown to you, and I will ask you to identify them, whether you have seen them in your camp where you were held prisoner of war.

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; I do remember this China Monthly Review, and this For a Lasting Peace for the People's Democracy. I remember that. I don't quite recall this magazine here. I recall this one here [indicating]. I recall this one here, too.

Mr. Carpenter. That is the New Times.

Corporal Baylor. Yes.

Mr. Carpenter. Would you please name them as you refer to them? What was the one before that?

Corporal Baylor. The New Times.

Mr. Carpenter. And the one before that? It is in German.

Corporal Baylor. Yes.

Senator Johnston. The German Democratic Republic.

Corporal Baylor. This one here, the Masses and Mainstream. And these two political affairs, I remember those. Also another Masses and Mainstream. I do remember this China Reconstructs, and there was another one, the China Pictorial.

Mr. Carpenter. The China Pictorial Review?

Corporal Baylor. I remember this one, too, the Daily Worker.

Mr. Carpenter. The Daily Worker?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. How long were you a prisoner of war?

Corporal Baylor. I was a prisoner of war for 33 months, I believe. The Charman. The indoctrination, did it begin almost immediately?

Corporal Baylor. No; not exactly immediately, but it was right after this march that we had, when we got about 12 miles from Pyoktong.

The CHAIRMAN. How sustained was it? How much time did they

devote to trying to indoctrinate you?

Corporal Baylor. Well, it was about a month after we was at

this camp 5.

The CHAIRMAN. This China Weekly Review which you have testified about, were there several issues of that in each of the camps?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; there was.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there someone over you to see that you studied that and made a report on it?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; there was someone not exactly over us,

but somebody was appointed to read this magazine before us.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they break that down? Into how small group was it broken down into?

Corporal Baylor. They would break it into a squad.

The CHAIRMAN. To a squad? Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. And how many hours a day would you say would

be an average for giving you this indoctrination course?

Corporal Baylor. They would practically give it to you all morning, and in the evening they would make us work.

The CHAIRMAN. Five or six hours a day?

Corporal Baylor. Yes.

The Chairman. Any further questions?

Mr. Carpenter. I have an article here of January 1953, of the China Monthly Review, entitled "American POW's Want Peace Now." Do you recognize that article?

Corporal Baylor. Yes; I do remember this article here.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you required to study that?

Corporal Baylor. No; we weren't required to study it, but they was trying to get us to sign this thing they had behind this. They had some kind of petition drawn up behind it for us to sign. They said they was going to send it to some kind of a welfare.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you remember Monica Felton when she ap-

peared at your camp?

Corporal Baylor. Yes; I do.

Mr. Carpenter. Would you tell us about that episode?

Corporal Baylor. In 1952, I think it was around October, Monica Felton came into camp 5 and she came to this theater that they had there. It was up on the hill. She gave us a lecture. I can't recall exactly what the lecture was at the present time. And then we was to go back to our squads and to discuss what she said.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you talk to her personally?

Corporal Baylor. No; I didn't talk to her personally. Mr. Carpenter. But you had to listen to her lecture?

Corporal BAYLOR. Yes; we had to listen to her lecture.

Mr. Carpenter. This morning in executive session you told about what you had to do in order to keep your mental equilibrium. I wish you would explain that to the committee now.

Corporal Baylor. Yes; I will. In camp 3 after I came out of the

hole for the 33 months——

The CHARMAN. You mean 33 days?

Corporal Baylor. Thirty-three days. I was so weak that I didn't know whether I was going to go crazy or what. My mind was just about ready to leave me. So there was another fellow there named—I can't recall his name, but anyway he was from Gary, Ind. We referred to him as Dr. Buzzard. He told me to get some kind of roots and stuff and eat it and that I would pull out of it. Well, the stuff tasted bitter, and nasty, but I took it and did it anyway. Then I took and bit off my fingernails down to the very edge and rubbed them into the sand and that sort of brought my nerves back to me, and brought back my mind, and it kept me from losing my whole mind altogether. I kept rubbing them in this dirt until I did get my mind back to normal. I had something to concentrate on.

Mr. Carpenter. In other words, grinding your fingers would keep

you conscious of your condition; is that right?

Corporal Baylor. That is right.

Mr. Carpenter. Was there any attempt to promote friction between

the white and colored POW's?

Corporal Baylor. Yes, sir; they tried it a few times. They would distribute rations out to us and they would sort of give more to the white POW's, today more, and the next day they would give more to the colored. They would try to get an argument out of us about who would get the most food and so forth. But we didn't let that arouse us. We got our heads together and we distributed as much chow among us as equally as we could.

That was to cause this friction.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Corporal. You will be excused.

Mr. Wright, will you come forward, please?

Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God? Mr. Wright. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF CARROLL WRIGHT, JR., ARLINGTON, VA.

The Chairman. Will you give us your full name? Mr. Wright. My name is Carroll Wright, Jr.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside?

Mr. Wright. I reside at 318 North George Mason Drive, Arlington, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. Wright. A real-estate broker.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in the Korean war?

Mr. Wright. Yes, sir; I was.

The Chairman. Were you a prisoner in the Korean war?

Mr. Wright. Yes, sir; I was.

The Chairman. How long were you a prisoner?

Mr. Wright. A little in excess of 34 months. The Chairman. When were you captured?

Mr. Wright. November 2, 1950.

Mr. CARPENTER. During your imprisonment in the Communist prison camps in Korea, did you ever see the China Weekly Review and later the China Monthly Review?

Mr. Wright. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Carpenter. Would you tell us under what circumstances you

saw that?

Mr. Wright. Yes, sir. This periodical was at first distributed to us through this monitor system in our squads. The political commissars in the camp, the English-speaking Chinese that controlled the study program, would issue this magazine to the squad monitors, giving them instructions as to what articles were to be read, and have them conduct or request them to conduct, and where possible to see that it was done, that they were discussed. Normally they require that each member of the squad write some sort of article or comment relative to the article.

The Chairman. How many different camps were you in?

Mr. Wright. How many camps was I in?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. Wright. Well, in primary camps I was in two. Camp 5, and Pyoktong, and also Camp 2 at Ping-Chong-ni. I spent some time at other camps, too.

The CHAIRMAN. The procedure you have just testified to about the

China Monthly Review was the same at the primary camps?

Mr. Wright. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. How about the quantities of the magazines? Were

they in great quantities?

Mr. Wright. Yes, sir; in great quantities. Along with what the major testified to, I would certainly feel without any question in my mind that had the space that those magazines occupied on transportation, and also the expense, if we want to get down to that, had been devoted to medical supplies, that a great deal more of our boys would have come home, and the approximately 55 percent of them that were captured earlier that did die would have made it back home.

I feel in my own mind, in my own opinion on it, that any individual that would publish and be responsible for a magazine that contains such slanderous propaganda and is still able to enjoy the rights and privileges of an American citizen—I feel that it is an injustice to those boys that have given their lives and those boys that endured punishment, such as the corporal, and many others, in trying to resist them. I think that I speak on behalf of all the prisoners, and I am holding myself up on the record as representing them. If I do not, then I hope that they will write and say that they do not share my opinion that this man should definitely receive punitive action, that he does not deserve the rights and privileges of an American citizen that so many boys have given their lives to maintain.

I also think, as I have been sitting here in this trial, trying to restrain the emotion I have felt at the testimony that has been given, and the resort that this man, if we can call him that, has resorted to under the fifth amendment, I can't help but wonder how many of our boys would have come home if they had had something like that. I really feel that in my opinion this man is responsible for physical injury, and also I think directly through his magazine or indirectly, whichever you want to call it, must bear some of the stains of the blood of the boys that did die there, and who did receive

punishment.

In my opinion I would classify him as a murderer.

Mr. Carpenter. Whom do you mean when you say "this man"?

Mr. Wright. I am referring to the gentleman who was here on the stand a short while ago, known as Mr. Powell. That was the publisher and editor of this magazine known as the China Weekly Re-

view and later the China Monthly Review.

I would like to make it clear that the articles that were written here were in such agreement, and supported the Communist cause so much, that they forced them on to the prisoners, and it was the stamina and the good red blood in many instances where prisoners refused to accept that. Because they did refuse to accept those articles, they did receive punishment. I certainly feel that a man that publishes that magazine and who has stated in that magazine, I do believe—I think the magazine can bear me out—that he accepts full responsibility for it, definitely deserves to be punished in some way.

Mr. Carpenter. Was there more animosity against the China

Monthly Review than other papers?

Mr. Wright. I would say, sir, that the China Monthly Review, sharing the same spotlight with the other Communist rags or papers from this country, the Daily Worker from New York, the People's World of San Francisco, that those papers were ones that prisoners particularly disliked, because they were published by people that were American citizens, and it was beyond the comprehension of most of us how anybody who can live in this country and enjoy the privileges of it can turn around and sell it down the river as this man has done, in that magazine.

For that reason, I do feel that that periodical was one of the ones

that was most disliked by the prisoners.

Mr. Carpenter. Can you tell us in a general way, or in specifics, how this magazine was used to indoctrinate, and the length of time

it was used?

Mr. Wright. Well. sir, it would take some time, I imagine, and be beyond my recollection to be complete on that. However, this magazine was brought in on transportation supplies, and it was given—distributed—to the political commissars, as we refer to them, who distributed them on down to the groups that they were responsible for.

As I have mentioned, at times these articles were read or articles from this magazine were read, and group meetings of the entire compound were assembled. At other times, they were read in squad meetings. But it was, I would say, one of the magazines that was the most used in camp. I think, I really feel, that the Chinese felt that because it was published by an American it would have a lot more weight with us, and had so much comment in it by people from our western world.

Mr. Carpenter. You made a considerable study of this magazine;

did you?

Mr. Wright. I would like to state that at times I did. At other times it was beyond my ability to sit down and read the stuff that was in that magazine.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you ever find anything reflecting a favorable

attitude toward the United States?

Mr. Wright. Sir, I never did.

Mr. Carpenter. In any of your reading you never found one article? Mr. Wright. No, sir; I honestly don't feel, in any that I read, certainly, that there was any favorable comment in that magazine.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you ever have occasion to talk to any of the

reporters from this magazine, the China Weekly Review?

Mr. Wright. No, sir; I never had any occasion to talk to any of those reporters. I did see Allen Huntington through my jail bars at one time, and one time I did observe two Caucasian women in our camp. What they were there for—as I recall, it was during the time that Monica Felton, in the spring of 1951, made her visit, made a visit to the camp. I am not saying it was she or who it was, because I don't know. But they were there.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you know the purpose of Monica Felton visit-

ing the camps?

Mr. Wright. Well, sir, I would answer that in a roundabout way, if you will permit me to take a little time. In prison, I frankly tried to make a study of communism. I read their books and a great number of their textbooks, and tried to learn as much as I could about communism, with the idea in mind that the first thing you have to know to fight anything is to understand it and know what it is all about. From reading those magazines, their textbooks and such, I came to two very simple and basic conclusions. The first thing is that the Communists do preach and do believe that the end is justified—as you were, that the means by which an end is obtained is justified, regardless of what it is.

The other thing that they very categorically state is that their end is world domination and, therefore, whenever the Communists do anything, even if on the surface it appears to be helping us out, I am convinced in my own mind that regardless of what it is, it is only to

further their end of world domination of capitalism.

I feel very strongly about that, and I do feel it is the truth. And in answer to your question, sir, going into that, I feel that that was a part of Monica Felton's reason for being there, that in some way she could contribute to that end.

Mr. CARPENTER. And you think that this man Powell was doing the

same thing?

Mr. Wright. I feel from the bottom of my heart, sir, that he was, and I don't see how the evidence that has been presented here, the magazine which he has written, can allow any of us to draw any other conclusion.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you have anything else, Mr. Wright, that would help this committee insofar as your experiences in the POW camps

relative to the China Monthly Review are concerned?

Mr. Wright. No, sir; I think that pretty well sums up my testimony.

The Chairman. Any questions? Senator Johnston. No questions.

The Charman. All right.

Mr. Wright, I want to say to you that from your testimony today the American people can certainly be proud of the record of the POW's, and you are included in that record. I also want to assure you that when this hearing is finally concluded, that this entire record is going to be sent to the Department of Justice to see that justice is done.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Chairman, the staff will prepare a list of various articles that have appeared in the China Weekly Review and

China Monthly Review, and I would like to have them placed into the record.

The Chairman. I will so direct the staff to make a compilation of the articles appearing in the China Weekly Review and the China Monthly Review. After they are completed, I want them inserted into the record in toto.

The committee has now been in session since 1 o'clock this afternoon and we are about to recess. Before we recess, however, I will say to Mr. Powell: You are still under subpena to this committee. In view of the fact that your attorney says tomorrow is a Jewish religious holiday, and he cannot be here, we will have to call you back at some other time, convenient to the committee. You are still under subpena.

We will stand in recess at this time.

(Whereupon, at 4:35 p. m., the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 1 p. m. the following day, Tuesday, September 28, 1954.)

INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1954

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 1:15 p. m., pursuant to call, in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner and Johnston.

Also present: Alva C. Carpenter, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Dr. Edna Fluegel, Robert McManus, and Louis R. Colombo, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

TESTIMONY OF KENNETH O. COLGAN, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Chairman. Do you solemnly swear, sir, that the testimony you shall give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Colgan. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us your full name?

Mr. Colgan. Kenneth O. Colgan.

The Chairman. Where do you reside, sir? Mr. Colgan. 5524 H Street Northwest.

The CHAIRMAN. Washington, D. C.?

Mr. Colgan. Washington, D. C. The Chairman. What is your business or profession?

Mr. Colgan. Vice president of Frederick W. Berens, Inc., in charge of the insurance department.

The Chairman. Proceed, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter. How do you spell your name, Mr. Colgan?

Mr. Colgan. C-o-l-g-a-n.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Colgan, have you lived in Shanghai, China? Mr. Colgan. Yes, I lived in Shanghai from the latter part of August 1945 until the latter part of August 1951.

Mr. Carpenter. What were your activities in Shanghai?

Mr. Colgan. I arrived in Shanghai as a tech sergeant in the United States Army, temporarily assigned to the Special Services Section.

Mr. Carpenter. During your stay in Shanghai, China, did you have occasion to know a John W. Powell?

Mr. Colgan. Yes, I met Mr. Powell, and then his wife, sometime in early 1946.

Mr. Carpenter. And you knew him how long, then?

Mr. Colgan. I knew him from then to this day, but the last time I saw him was in the early spring of 1951.

I should say I saw him last at the Shanghai race course attending

an entertainment there in January of 1951.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Colgan, was there a considerable Americanand English-speaking community in Shanghai at the time you were there?

Mr. Colgan. Yes. The English-speaking American and British community, I would say, varied from a high of around 20,000 in 1947

to approximately 1,500 at the time that I left, in 1951.

Mr. Carpenter. I wish you would tell this committee, Mr. Colgan, your relations with Mr. Powell, how well you knew him, what his activities were that you noticed, and, in general, all you know about Mr. Powell.

Mr. Colgan. Mr. Powell was an intimate friend of a Capt. Gerald Tannebaum. At one time Captain Tannebaum was nominally my superior officer. He was in charge of the Armed Forces Radio in Shanghai, and a friend of Powell's, and it was through Captain

Tannebaum that I was first introduced to Mr. Powell.

Now, I don't know him intimately. I knew of the publication of which he was in charge. I knew of his activities from time to time, especially after May 6, 1949, at which time the Communists assumed control of Shanghai. His was the only publication, that is, Englishlanguage publication, that I knew of that was immediately able to continue publication without suspension for a time.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of that publication?

Mr. Colgan. At that time it was the China Weekly Review, which

later was changed to the China Monthly Review.

John's picture was appearing in Chinese-language newspapers, and no picture appeared of him and his wife Sylvia in the North China Daily News, which was a British-owned publication which was forced to suspend shortly after celebrating its hundredth anniversary.

To take its place as a daily newspaper there was the Shanghai Times, which was Communist-controlled and used strictly Communist

literature.

I taught football at St. Johns University as a sideline activity to my marine insurance business which I operated in Shanghai during the years 1947 and 1948. I got to know a lot of young Chinese at St. Johns University who, in 1950, the last time that I had a talk with any of the boys that I taught out there, said that the English-language classes had been abandoned except for those that used as textbooks, in part, Powell's China—I think it was still the Monthly Review then, and the Shanghai Times.

Mr. Carpenter. Was it still a monthly, or a weekly review?

Mr. Colgan. I mean it was still a weekly review.

One of these boys—I don't know where he is—he was formerly a pilot trainee in the Nationalist Air Force at the time the war ended. He was an exceptionally tall boy, weighed 190 pounds, was 6 foot 1. He played fullback for them. He gave me the idea, the slant on the ideology that was being preached to them in Powell's magazine, amongst others.

He said that the massacres that were going on—the mass reprisals they called them—were a kindness to the Chinese people. And I

asked him how he explained that.

He said, "We can only get to so many people to reeducate them, and if they persist in taking the old imperialist way, will not take to our teachings through these magazines and newspapers, then we merely liquidate them so that we can teach more of those with an open mind and can spread the word of the peoples' government to more, and so bring so-called enlightenment to them."

And Powell's magazine was used in some middle schools—that is comparable to our high schools—as English language advanced

reading.

The last time that I had word of Powell was in the spring of 1951, when I met Captain Tannebaum at the International Sporting Club, which was a club in the interior of the Shanghai Race Course. It was operated by a group of British Board of Governors at that time to promote athletic and social welfare amongst the foreign community. It was then, however, open to Chinese, should they care to join.

I saw Captain Tannebaum. I mentioned to him that he and Mr. and Mrs. Powell were members of the International Sporting Club of the Shanghai Race Club, were they going to participate in

the summer sports.

He said at that time John and Sylvia Powell were on a cultural tour to Moscow and the Soviet Union.

So, starting from January of 1951 I never saw them until this

I did see Captain Tannebaum, who was, I think, from 1948 that I knew him, as Madam Sun Yat-sen's so-called secretary.

The Chairman. I didn't understand that.

Mr. Colgan. Tannebaum was Madam Sun Yat-sen's so-called secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. He still is?

Mr. Colgan. I don't know. He is still over there.

The Chairman. You referred to him as Captain Tannebaum.

Was he a member of the Armed Forces?

Mr. Colgan. Oh, yes. I think he was captain in the Infantry, if I am not mistaken. But he was assigned to the Special Services Section in the Armed Forces Radio. It was in that capacity that I first knew him.

But he definitely told me that John and Sylvia Powell were on a trip, a cultural trip, as he called it, to Moscow and the Soviet Union.

I saw him last in downtown Shanghai in July of 1951, and I returned. I left Shanghai in the latter part of August by train to Canton and Hong Kong, and I arrived in Hong Kong on the 3d of September 1951.

Mr. Carpenter. Was there any rumor around Shanghai at the time that he had gone to Russia to receive a Russian decoration!

Mr. Colgan. No; I didn't hear that. I heard nothing other than the fact as given to me by Jerry Tannebaum, that he was on a cultural—that was his exact phrase—he was on a cultural tour to Moscow and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you know whether Powell participated in official delegations arranged by the Chinese Communist government?

Mr. Colgan. I do know that a picture appeared with a Polish social intrigue delegation. This picture showed them in front of what was known as the foreign YMCA, on Bubbling Well Road in Shanghai in 1950. I think it was in the summer, I couldn't identify the month.

Mr. Carpenter. Did Powell carry on any broadcasting activities? Mr. Colgan. I never heard any. In Shanghai we had no English-

language station.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read the China Monthly or Weekly Review

yourself?

Mr. Colgan. Yes; from time to time. We looked at it to see what the pegged price of the peoples' currency was. We were forced to maintain our business and pay our laborers according to the high cost of living index.

The cartoons and the drivel that was in there was so obviously

The Chairman. Slanted which way, sir?

Mr. Colgan. It was at the start—until MacArthur was relieved, he was depicted in all types of cartoons as oppressing the Korean people with his sword over the body, and all the merchants had to ape those cartoons as anti-American propaganda.

Well, I wasn't connected with anything political. But it was so stupid and so absurd that it wasn't worth reading any further.

We checked to see what the high cost of living index was, and that was the end of it.

The Chairman. You refer to it as drivel?

Mr. Colgan. It sure was.

The Chairman. It was anti-American?

Mr. Colgan. Oh, vehemently so.

At the time I got out of there, they were just starting, just stepping

up the anti-germ-warfare campaign in Shanghai.

Oh, yes; I forgot. Powell's magazine was also thumping the tub heavily for their so-called victory bonds for the Korean people, to provide volunteer funds.

They were soliciting in English active support of this campaign. They were also printing some pictures, alleged pictures, of the

bombs used in germ warfare.

As a matter of fact, I saw one—I think it was mentioned here yesterday, I couldn't help but overhear it—concerning the rat in the That was widely disseminated in pictures in merchants' win-They would take the individual shots and put them out.

The Chairman. And that was in Powell's magazine?

Mr. Colgan. That was in Powell's magazine.

The Chairman. You knew Powell was an American citizen?

Mr. Colgan. Oh, yes, sir. The Chairman. What was the reaction among the English and American citizens there about Powell's publication, in the China Weekly or Monthly Review?

Mr. Colgan. They wanted no part of him. He would come among

He'd keep his mouth shut and keep pretty much to himself.

The CHAIRMAN. He does not keep his mouth shut in America. He is holding a press conference at 3:15 this afternoon downtown in our capital.

Mr. Colgan. He didn't return here, sir. He was sent back here on

a definite mission.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, sir.

Mr. Colgan. I say he didn't return here, as he says. He was sent back here on a definite mission. He is supposed to be a trade expert; yet to my knowledge, he has never participated in any commercial activities even to running his magazine. That was subsidized at the time over there.

I understand that he disclaims any knowledge of the circulation and operation; then I believe that that is one of the few statements of his that contains some truth, because he didn't have to worry, he didn't depend upon circulation for operating income; it was provided obviously by some bureau of the Communist propaganda department

of the government.

The Chairman. You say he did not come back; he was sent back.

On what basis do you make that statement?

Mr. Colgan. Having depended upon commerce and trade in China for my livelihood in marine insurance, his statements regarding trade with China as being a desirable and necessary thing to the American economy are at this time so full of holes and illogical reasoning that he is obviously prating statements that have been given to him, that he has memorized. He may believe them, for all I know.

The Chairman. He submitted one of these statements to this com-

mittee yesterday, but we did not include it in our record, along the

very lines that you are now discussing.

Mr. Colgan. For one thing, Powell makes a major issue of the British and French trade over there. He does not want to say why they are concerned with trade. They have billions of dollars' worth of capital investments in China. Kailin Mining, for one, Jardine

Matheson were large factories throughout China.

We have only three that I can think of, comparatively small. And if the Chinese peoples' government were sincere in wanting world trade, surely they would make restitution to American investors and stockholders. A lot of them bought Shanghai Power many years ago believing it a sound investment. They bought the Shanghai Telephone. They bought oil stocks in some of our companies operating with it. Those are the only three investments that we have.

We have no reason to kowtow to the Chinese peoples' government in order to save a part of that comparatively small investment. And that is all that I can see that British merchants, French traders are doing, because I know for a fact that there is no such thing as a private industry, a private business in China today. They may have ostensibly private heads, but they are not allowed to hire or fire. Their operations are controlled by their employees, the union, the employees' union. That union of employees is responsible to the government union center, which is in turn government controlled.

Therefore it stands, if you follow it on through, the government owns all of their businesses, domestic as well as international. And they can therefore dictate, especially in barter arrangements.

I know of one transaction that took place in 1950 between Indian merchants and supposed merchants in cotton factories in Shanghai. They had agreed upon a very reputable cotton weighmaster, which in effect is a referee who determines the grade and quality of the cotton shipped at the time it arrives at destination. Immediately this barter agreement was concluded, so much cotton to be shipped of such a grade and so much piece goods returned. Both countries had

agreed upon this weighmaster. The cotton being once on the high seas, they started to discredit this man, and they succeeded, with obviously phony uprisings and outbursts and statements from the unions in the cotton-weaving factories. So that when the cotton arrived they wouldn't allow him to inspect it.

He couldn't go to Tientsin. No, the people objected. Therefore the government said "We are bowing to the will of the people; it is their own edict." But they gave out the statement they were bowing to the will of the people, these so-called government inspectors.

The cotton was determined as discolored, a third grade, and they gave back the cotton piece goods on that basis. The shippers in India

lost money on the proposition.

I know the people's names. I would be glad to name the Indian merchants and the cotton weighmaster that was in Shanghai at that time. I would be glad to give those names to the committee for reference.

That is not exactly pertinent to this issue, but Powell is a typical cog in the Communist wheel, and they certainly have used him and sent him back here, quite obviously, to continue his usefulness.

With the Korean war over, it is apparent they could see no gainful

employment for him.

The Chairman. Did you, of your own knowledge, know that his magazine, China Monthly, or Weekly Review, was used not only as a textbook for advanced study in English but also was distributed and was used as a forced indoctrination course by our prisoners of war?

Mr. Colgan. No, sir, I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Carpenter. At this time, Senator, as you recall, yesterday afternoon you instructed the staff to prepare a list of documents wherein an article that appeared in the China Weekly, and later Monthly Review is included.

Mr. Mandel has that list prepared at this time. We would like him

to read them and have them introduced into the record.

The Chairman. You may proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. Mandel. I wish to place in the record, as a result of that study, a list of Communist and pro-Communist writers appearing in the China Monthly Review. They were either connected with a magazine that has been cited as subversive, or they took the fifth amendment; or they were openly identified as Communists. Among these were Steve Nelson, who is identified in the China Monthly Review as sentenced to 20 years in the Common Workhouse under the State Sedition Act in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Nelson is a leader of the Communist Party in that State.

That is signed by the editor.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 470" and ap-

pears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1988.)

Mr. Mandell. Next I wish to put into the record the actual letter from Steve Nelson, which appeared in the China Monthly Review of May 1953.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of

the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 471" and appears below:)

EXRIBIT No. 471

LETTER FROM A WORKHOUSE, U. S. A.

The following letter was sent to Mrs. Grace Liu, of Tientsin, by Steve Nelson, who was sentenced to 20 years in a common workhouse under the State sedition act in Pennsylvania. Mr. Nelson, who is a leader of the Communist Party in that State, was denied the right of counsel during the trial, and he was not allowed to post bail. In the indictment no specific counts were given against Nelson, and as the columnist I. F. Stone wrote, "The indictment might as well have read '[Nelson] did incite and encourage whatchamaycall'im to commit whatdoyucallit."—Editor.

DEAR MRS. LIU: Yours was the first letter I received from People's China since

I have been in prison. Thanks a million.

I know of course that the China Federation of Labor reacted to my case, and its affiliates sent protests against my frameup to the various authorities demanding my freedom, as did others in various parts of the world. It seems that these protests have had some useful effect at this end, so that a partial victory was registered in my case this week.

I am to go out on \$20,000 bail pending appeal. My supporters and friends of peace are elated and feel along with me that this small victory shows what even greater ones can be scored if the people fight more energetically than ever, for peace in Korea, for trade and peaceful coexistence with U. S. S. R., new

democracies and people's China.

By the time you get this letter, I hope I'll be out of jail, as well as my 13 Communist friends, Communist Party leaders who have just been convicted and given sentences from 2 to 4 years each and fines from \$2,000 to \$16,000 each, in New York. However, on February 24, I and 4 other Communist leaders are going on another trial, here in Pittsburgh, this time charged by the Federal Government and can get 5 more years, though I am now under a 20-year sentence.

This will be my fourth trial in 5 years. What is my "crime"? I fought for peace in the world, and for an end to the shameful imperialist war in Korea. I believe in and fight for socialism. I owned Marxist books, and am a leader of

the Communist Party here. I fought fascism in Spain in 1937.

Thank you for your interest. My warmest to the great people of China.

STEVE NELSON.

Mr. Mandel. Next is the article in the China Monthly Review of June 1953, pages 72 and 73, Chinese People Protest Injustice to Rosenbergs.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the

record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 472" and appears below:)

Ехнівіт №. 472

CHINESE PEOPLE PROTEST INJUSTICE TO ROSENBERGS

Organizations and individuals in China have added their voices to the worldwide protest against the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Peasant families in China are as familiar with the issues involved in the framed-up "atomic spy" charges of the United States Government against the young couple, parents of two small children, as are trade unionists and intellectuals.

As far back as last December, a public statement demanding justice for the Rosenbergs was signed by the most widely representative organizations in China,

including the All-China Federation of Labor.

Among the organizations which have issued public protests are: The Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, the China Peace Committee, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, student and literary and art circles. Christian churches and religious associations have also strongly protested the death sentence for the Rosenbergs.

Twenty-three Chinese Christian leaders, in March, urged Christians all over the world, particularly those in the United States to act to prevent the murder of the Rosenbergs. Signed by well-known leaders such as Wu Yao-tsung, Wu Yi-fang, Y. C. Tu, Z. T. Kaung, and P. Lindel Tsen, their joint statement said: "We will uphold to the last the just demand of the Rosenbergs, a good and honest couple, because their case deeply involves the dignity, value, and conscience of mankind."

A few days before this statement was made 15,000 Catholics in Tientsin issued

a public declaration of protest against the United States Government's intention

to carry out the execution of the Rosenbergs.

Noted jurist and president of the Supreme People's Court, Shen Chun-ju has declared that there is a complete absence of credible evidence throughout the entire court proceedings against the Rosenbergs. To convict people of espionage on the basis of their political views or social outlook is a brutal violation of the

most elementary principles of law, he stated.

Chinese scientists have issued a joint message stating that the verdict in the Rosenberg case is "completely devoid of decency and reason." Yuan Han-ching, deputy secretary-general of the All-China Association for the Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Knowledge, in appealing to United States scientists to act on behalf of the Rosenbergs, noted that the "atomic secrets" supposedly divulged by the couple were already common knowledge.

Mr. Mandel. From the China Weekly Review, November 5, 1949, an

article on the American Communist trial.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 473" and ap-

pears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1988.)

Mr. Mandel. China Weekly Review of December 31, 1949, an article on the Congress of American Women, which was cited as subversive in the study by the House Committee on un-American Activities.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become part of the

record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 474" and ap-

pears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1991.)

Mr. Mandel. China Monthly Review, December 1950, a list of speeches by Chinese Communist leaders, which are on sale in reprint form, as advertised through the China Monthly Review.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the

record.

(The material referred to was marked Exhibit No. 475 and appears

in the appendix to this volume at p. 1993.)

Mr. Mandel. Here we have China Monthly Review lists of American prisoners of war, articles and photographs dealing with the subject. I just want to read a few captions by way of example.

Here is a photograph which states "The indictment of United States

intervention grows clearer."

Then we have a photograph with the caption: "American POW's stage a mass demonstration in opposition to the United States policy

of continuing the Korean war."

A list of 44 signers to POW's letter to Eisenhower, and an article entitled "United States planes attack POW camp;" a photograph of American POW's staging a mass demonstration in opposition to the United States policy of continuing the Korean war.

I place that entire list into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibits Nos. 476 and 476A" and appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1994.)

Mr. Mandel. Here is a list of the dates of the National Guardian in which a list of prisoners of war appeared, as furnished by John W. Powell and the China Monthly Review. I ask that be placed in the record.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of

the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 477" and appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1995.)

Mr. Mandel. Here is an article from the China Monthly Review

of March 1953, entitled "POW Messages From Korea."

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 478" and ap-

pears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1995.)

Mr. Mandel. From the China Monthly Review of April 1953, entitled "POW's Letter to Eisenhower."

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of the

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 479" and

appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1998.)

Mr. Mandel. China Monthly Review of January 1953, "American POW's Want Peace Now."

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 480" and appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 1998.)

Mr. Mandel. Then I wish to place into the record a list of material

published in the China Monthly Review on germ warfare.

The Chairman. It may go in and become part of the record. (The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 481" and ap-

pears in the appendix to this volume at p. 2000.)

Mr. Mandel. I will read some titles by way of illustration.

"Photographic 'Evidence' of United States Germ Warfare, Under the Caption, 'Crime Against Humanity.'"

An article, "Germ Warfare: A Sign of United States Desperation in

Korea."

I wish to place into the record some excerpts from these articles.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record and become part of

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 482" and

appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 2001.)

Mr. Mandel. Then an article from the China Monthly Review of January 1953: "Scientists and Doctors Say * * *," and then it quotes:

Twenty-seven scientists and doctors who attended the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference signed a statement condemning the use of bacteriological warfare. Excerpts from their statement follow * * *.

The Chairman. That may go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 483," and ap-

pears in the appendix to this volume at p. 2003.)

Mr. Mandel. Then I have a list of the articles from the China Monthly Review dealing with espionage, secret police, and treason, particularly one attacking the American United States spy ring

smashed in Peking, attacking Col. David Barrett, assistant military attaché in Peking.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the

record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 483-A" and

appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 2004.)

Mr. Mandel. Then articles from the China Monthly Review, dealing with the peace conference of the Asian and Pacific regions, or its parent body, the World Peace Congress, or other affiliates, with a statement of the State Department characterizing that conference.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the

record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibits Nos. 484 and 484-A" and appears in the appendix to this volume at pp. 2004 and 2005.)

Mr. Mandel. Excerpts from the China Monthly Review showing

anti-American propaganda during the Korean war.

I will cite some of them:

An article against United States aggression; an article, United States Offensive Backfires; an article, United States Massacre Claims Refuted by American POW's; photographs charging barbarism and criminal acts on the part of American troops; an article reading in part:

Heavy United States losses. American casualties in Korea kept adding up while General Ridgway, in Tokyo, did his best to wreck Kaesong peace negotiations * * *.

The CHAIRMAN. That may all go into the record and become a part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 485" and

appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 2005.)

Mr. Mandel. An article attacking Angus Ward, consul general in Mukden, appearing in the China Weekly Review of January 14, 1950. The Chairman. It may go into the record and become part of the record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 486," and

appears in the appendix to this volume at p. 2007.)

Mr. Mandel. An article from the China Monthly Review of December 1950 titled "List of Border Violations by United States Planes."

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of the

record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 487" and ap-

pears in the appendix to this volume at p. 2013.)

Mr. Mandel. And finally, an article from the China Monthly Review of December 1950, entitled "The Strafing of Kooloutzu by American Planes."

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become a part of the

record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 488" and ap-

pears in the appendix to this volume at p. 2014.)

Mr. Carpenter. At this time we would like to enter into the record and have made a part of the record the military record of Gerald Tannebaum.

The Chairman. It may go into the record and become a part of the

record.

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 489" and appears below:)

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		name of foreign country and when service was performed.)
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		Andrews Control of the Control of th
	35	Prior service in Coast Guard, Public Health Service, or Coast and Geodetic Survey.
	543	Give dates and nature of service
		Give dates and nature of service
		The second secon
ÿ.,		
		water water with the second of
	10	Were all discharges granted under honorable conditions? Yes No. No. No.
	(8)	Have you already established military preference with the Civil Service Commission?
	337	Y0sNo.
		H so, theck kind of preference below: None
		Veteran Disabled veteran.
Ö.	Ar	you now a member of Yo
		National Guard
	(8)	Officers' Reserve Corps
	(0)	United States Navel Reserve
		Coast Quard Reserva.
1 2	77.	was remistered under the Selective Service Act? X Yes No. 11 50, give
***		abless of head board Local Board #7 1100 Persuch Ave. Balto. No.
		If classified, give your classification 1-A. Your order number 2002.
12.	År	a you now receiving pay as a retired officer? (Enfected men)? Yes Xo.
13.	Ar	you now drawing compensation or other benefits from the Veterans Administration?
		You X No. If we state amount
14.	, er	ysical condition is: Excellent X very good fair poor Height without shoes 6 feet 1 inches. Weight 125 pounds
٤٤	(vi	Have you any physical defect or disability whatsoever?Yes X No.
\$400	(8)	Have you ever had a nervous breakdown? Yes _ X. No.
		If your answer to either (a) or (b) above is yes, give full perticulars:
		Value de la companya del companya de la companya de la companya del companya de la companya de l
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
		man and a high common and the comment of the commen
		A contraction of the contraction contraction contraction of the contra
30	12	are you over been turned down for life insurance? Yes . X. No.
3.83	n	o you hold any elective or appointive office. Federal, State, or municipal?
î.,		A. No. II so, give details
18	. A	re you now employed by the Federal Government? X., Yes No.
	. 0) If soArmy of the United States
	- (2) If you now are or have ever been so employed, give dates:
		From August 1942 to Present to August to Augus
		2 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
		test to the second of the seco

19.	Experience: In the space arnished below, give a record of importate employment, footh public and private, which you have had. Start with your present position and work back to the first position you held. Describe your field of work and position and give your duties and responsibilities in such detail as to make your qualifications clear.
	Present position:
	Pisco Carp Santa Anita (Car) (Carp Santa Anita (Car)
20000	
	Place New York, New York [Charlet Control Con
as	
	Place Baltimore, Maryland Exact title of position Radio Director (City) Salary Starting \$ 35 per West Salary Starting \$ 35 per

	Page Chicago, Illinois	Eract title of position Asst. Adv. Mgr.
	From Jan. 1940 to Sept. 1940	Salary: Starting \$35 per week Final & Same
	(March) (Year) (March (Year)	Daties and responsibilities Planning of da-
	Name of employer Mandel Brothers	partmental advartising in news-
	Address 1 North State Street Kind of business or organization	papers and circulars. Ad laya-
	Retail Department Store	Also had charge of interior
	Number and class of employees you supervised	efore ad display and radio
	3. 98210Y888	commercial writing.
	Name and title of your immediate supervisor D. Gusfield Advertising Work	Machines and equipment you used
	D. Gueffeld, Advertising Ngr. Reason for leaving Deliter 100	Typewriter
	Place Chicago, Illinois	en and a second and
	Place VIII Cago ALAMOIA (Succe)	Exact title of position Market Analysist
	From June 1939 to Jan. 1940	Salary: Starting \$25 and Exper week
	(Month) (Year) (Month) (Year)	Dulles and responsibilities Conducted augustys
	Name of employer . Melker Thompson	To depict effectiveness of radio
	Address 410 N. Michigan Avenue Kind of business or organization	programs, commercials, market pro-
	Advertising Agency	Analysis and interpretation of
	Number and class of employees you supervised Varied from none to ten	survey results and report writing of these results. Radio commer-
	Name and title of your immediate supervisor	aisl writing.
	R.C. Campell, Research hir.	Machines and equipment you used
	Reason for Maring 10 Accept. Another.	Job. Typewriter
	Place (State)	Exact title of position
		Selery: Starting \$ per
	From (Month) (Year) (Month) (Year)	Final 3. Duties and responsibilities
	Name of employer	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY O
	Address	
	Kind of business or organization	and the second commence of the second
	Number and class of employees you supervised	

	Name and title of your immediate supervisor	The second secon
	Resson for leaving	Machines and equipment you used
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	Name of employer	
	Address	MANAGEMENT AND THE STREET OF T
	Kind of business or organization	And the second companies and the second companies of t
	Number and class of employees you supervised	

	Name and title of your immediate supervisor	A Commission of the Commission
	Reason for leaving	Machines and equipment you used
***	Messon for traving	

etc.) Answer spec	ifically (f), (g), and (a) C	alysis, pigeon training, radio transmission,
(a) Political S	000 (4 skii) 01 enga	Research and study of structure and workings of modern govern-
(b) Child Delin	quency Study	Calludance, and the state of the and
(6)		divert their habits into more useful channels. Die this for 3 y
140		
Name of the control o		
(6)		
(f) Experience as an er	deresiner. ACLIDS	Have acted in quite a number of amateur productions.
ucation cla	essa; coached and football.	Taught at summer camps, delinque; child organizations. Coached from grade school to college men.
(A) Athletic skill. Pla	yed versity col	at Morthwestern University from
(A) Albeie skill Fla football ar Swim, play	d basketball. tennia and base)	0ail, 1935 to 1939.
(A) Athen skill Play football ar Swim, play Education (include	d basketball. tennia and base)	oall, 1935 to 1939.

por and other approximation									
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Fareign hanges	ures (check m	merisary).	None						
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ARNO RERVICE PORCES ONDNANCE DEPARTMENT THE ORDNANCE SCHOOL ABSEDSEN PROVING GROUND NO

arrention of

4 December 1943

Subject: Temporary Appointment.

To:

2nd Lieut, TANNEBAUS, GERALD Army of the United States

01 558 212

- 1. The Secretary of War has directed me to inform you that the President has appointed and commissioned you a temporary Second Lieutenant, Army of the United States, effective this date, in the grade shown in the address above. Your serial number is shown after A above.
- 2. This commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the President of the United States for the time being, and for the duration of the present emergency and six months thereafter unless sooner terminated.
- 2. There is inclosed herewith a form for cath of office which you are requested to execute and return. The execution and return of the required oath of office constitute an acceptance of your appointment. No other evidence of acceptance is required. This letter should be retained by you as evidence of your appointment.

FILE DEC 11 1943 FAMEL 20 HUNG 7

By order of Colonel SLAUGHTER:

EDGAR H. KIMLER, JR., Lt. Col., Ord. Dept., Assistant Commandant.

HQ ORD SCH. Aberdeen Proving Ground, Meryland, 1 December 1940.
Onth of office executed this date accepting appointment.
For the COMMANDANT:

Inclosure:

Form for oath of office.

ALBERT D. BOSSON, Captain, Ord. Dept., Personnel Officer.

SPMIA 201-Tannabaum, Gerald (0) 4th Ind. (13 Jul 45) Eq ASF, Information & Education Division, Washington, DC, 26 July 1945 TO: Commanding General, Army Service Forces

Statement required by latter, ND TAGO, APO- 210.2 (25 May 45), subject: Recommendations for Promotion, 14 June 1945, has been accomplished.

FOR THE DISECTOR, INFORMATION & MINICATION DIVISION: -

M. M. MONETTE Major, AGD O-1-0, Mil Sere Sec



A A	
* *.	
report of entry on (view)	CRANCE OF ACTIVE DUTY
(Par. 119 b, AR 140-5, and par	s. 13 b and 34 AR 130-10).
× ,	
	Ordnance Sonool Abendeen Proving Ground, Maryland
	4 December 1943.
To: The Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.	
ATTENTION:XEXPERCEDIATEDE PROCUREGION	FRANCH, Rodo 1539, Temporary Building "t"
Many considerable and control of the	01 558 212
(First) (Middle)	(Last) (Serial No.)
GRADE AND BRANCH: Second Lieutenapt. (Grade)	Ord. Dept. A 3 US (Granch) (ORC, NGUS, OR AUS)
AUTHORITY: Par, S.O.: 286, HQ	Ord. School 30 November 1943 (Date of Order)
DATE OF ENTRY UPON ACTIVE DUTY:	Recember 19/3
 KONDUDO XSINODRAR DEGRERAZED: 	**
effective date shown in the order.)	oft home if such data is on or subsequent to the imarity the effective date of termination shown in
the order.)	
REPORTED FOR ACTIVE DUTY:	A December 1943
	(Date reported at station)
For the COMMANDA	NT: AM IN S
	ALWERT D. ROSLON. Captain, Crd. Dapt.,

I Indl-Copy of extract of special order. Personnal Officer.

Report to be mailed direct to the Adjutant General by the adjutant or personnel adjutant
of the post, station or unit within 24 hours after officer reports for duty.

2. A separate report will be rendered for each Reserve, National Guard of the United States or Army of the United States officer.

*Line out words not applicable.

MOTED DEC 11 1943

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ENLISTMENT RECORD	FIRAL INDORGEMENT
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Harper 5. to 11 to Weight II A. See DING that Brown	Aberdsen Proving Ground, Md.
Complexion Ruddy Size of gas mack Size of shore	3 December
Married or single Decorption	To The Adjusters General:
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2m4 STOUSELT GYFIGE A

Aberden Proving Pount. Carpland 18 December 1947

DEFINITION OF STREET OF STREET OF CONTROL OF STREET
- Service Division.

 The Adjutant General Office
 Thru: The Office of the Chief of Ordnance, william Personnel Branch, Fentagon Dullding, Washington.
- 1. Request that End It. Gerald Tammabour, AUD 01558212, be transferred from the Ordnance Department to the lorals Service Division.
- 2. The to civilian background and army experience, would be of greater service to the army verking in its crientation program, thich has taken on greater signific use of late. See inclosure for complete chronological listing of civilian and army backgrows.
- 5. Have conferred with both Special Service Livision and Mormle Service Advictor. Was advised to request transfer on basis of past civilian experience and the fact that had participated in army orientation activities as an enliated man.

Inclosures: 1

GERALD TANDELAUS End Lt. Ord. Dept.

Inclemure: 1

Qualifications of 2nd Lt. Corald Tannebaum, STATE STATE ANY OLDSOnz, for Morale Service Division.

I. Schooling

- A. Northwestern University was graduated with F.J. in Pusiness Administration in 1939. 1. Pajored in Public Relations and Advertising.
- D. Night school at Northwestern University and Johns Hopkins University.

 1. Short story writing at Forthwestern.

 2. Distory and secondics at Johns Hopkins.

II. Work While In College

- A. Compus correspondent represented Chicago Daily News.
- I. School neveraper wrote feature stories and editorials.
- C. School radio station wrote, produced dramatic presentations, discussion programs.
- D. Larket investigator worked on coincidental and other types of telephone surveys, personal interview investigations throughout Chicago area.
- B. Velfare worker erganized delinquent kids into clubs for the bull House. Purpose was to instill responsibility of citisens to replace their destructive tendencies.

III. York After College

A. J. Walter Thompson Company (Advertising), Chicago Office - worked in the Market Analysis Department attached to Radio Department. Conducted surveys throughout the Middle West and the South to determine effectiveness of radio programs on the various markets. Acted in Wrete analytical moports. Acted in supervisory espacity.

Inclesure: 1 (con'd.)

B. Mandel Brothers (Chic go Department Store) -Assistant advertising manager. Und charge of radio anot announcement program.

3

- C. Newholf Advertising Agency adio director. Mad charge of writing and producing eight programs plus transcription and spet announcement campaigns. The pragrams varied from money-liveaway broadcasts to quiz programs, variety shows and news programs.
- D. Radio Script writer (Freelance) " ir cles of hedicins", an educational program in the dramatic form tracing the warrious phases of medicine from their inscriptions to the present day, exphasion, their effect on modern living. It was a halfhour show with metional coverage.

Espe serecast - originated in Chicago, Your university professors, two from horthwestern ind the from University of Chic go, task h significant items from the news of the veck and made a prediction as to its consequences. This was dramtized as the news bafers it happened.

Stoke plays for Grand Central Station, bullung Drangeond Lysteries, Columbia Terkshop.

IV. MELACY

- A. Training (All them at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland)
 - 1. busic transing
 - 2. hon-oppnissioned officer training
 - S. Ordnames Officer Condidate oc. ool
- I. Werk Public Welstions Office, Gosp Jont . Bit . Argudia, Odliformia. 1. Fead of Frees Selease Section.

 - C. Associate editor of eight page t thoid Garp nesspoper, its C' Tail.
 - a. seveled whole and proce to now a society in under my byline. Jupervised construction
 - of veekly maps, recapped and analysis the news from the various theatern of a re-
 - 3. rote duty EAS 5" TAR MY THE AIR new bor t. which went ever ever F.A. system. 4. Wrate all radio shows involving the corp.

	WAR DEP/ TMENT ARMY SERV FORCES MEMO ROUTING SLIP	W. D., A. G Form No. 6 April 7, 19	O. 114 13
T	o the following in order indicated:	Q#3 15845	
1	Personnel Branch	(Init)	BlE) Drite)
2	(Name of this) (Organization) (Building and ro-	cm)	
3			, market

Request action be taken to reassign 2d Lt. Gerald Tannebaum, 2d Student Officer Training Company, Aberdeen Proving Round, Md., to the Morale Services Pool, Lex., Va., with 30 days t/d Los Angèles Office, enroute. Major Boardman, LA Office, desires this officer for subsequent assignment overseas as a radio program officer.

Barton A. Stebbins Captain, A.U.S.

Radio Section, Information Brath

(Date)

(Page (Organization) (Building and room)

Somedaumy bullach

23 December 1943. WYC-5803/ens

Chief of Ordnessee

Bm. 5 2 439, Pentagon

Major Ives

Reassignment of Officer

SPESP-201, Termebaum, Garald (23 Dec 43)

Morals Services Division, ASP, Bm. 20569, The Pentagen 5803

Confirming telephone conversation with Captein Stebbins, this bivision, request that 2nd It. Gerald Tanusbaum, C-155212, Ord, 2nd Stadent Officer Training Company, Aberdson Proving Ground, Miscobe relieved from present assignment and assigned to Morals Services Replacement Peol, Laxington, Virginia, with thirty (30) days temperary duty Branch Office, Morale Services Division, ASF, 1421 Rorth Western Avenue, Les Angeles, California.

For the Mirector:

K. C. BOCK, Mejor, A. G. D., Assistant Executive Officer, Motele Services Division. RETURN TO MILITARY PERSONNEL SECTION

FILE

28 Dan 43 sure

spec tree. (12-52-43) ma

5 0 201-Tannebaum, Gerald (0)

lst Ind.

BOADHOUSE/IWs 34.22

COMP, THE ORDERCICE SCHOOL, Abordeen Proving Ground, Maryland. 18 December 1943.

TO: Office of the Chief of Ordnance, The Pentagon, Nachington, D. C. Attn: Military Fersonnel Branch.

Forwarded. Approval recommended,

Yor the CULLIANDANT:

Major, Ord. Dept. Personnel Officer.

Incli n/c

C. C. 201 - Tannebaum, Gerald (2nd Lt.)

Attn: SPOZE 201 - Tannebaum, Gerald (0)

2nd Ind.

Army Service Forces, Office of the Chief of Ordnance, Washington, D. C., 23 December 1943.

To: The Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C.

- Forwarded, recommending approval.
- It is requested that the necessary orders be issued relieving Second Lieutenant Serald Tannebaum, 0-1558212, Ordnance Department, 2nd Student Officer Training Company, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Haryland, From his present assignment, and assigning him to the Morale Services Replacement Pool, lexington, Virginia, with thirty (30) days temporary duty at Branch Office, Morale Services Division, Army Service Forces, 1421 Rorth Restern Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
 - Altached is the concurrence for the above-mentiones assignment.

For the Chief of Ordnance:

ALLAN F. IVES

Major, Ordnance Department Assistant

2 Incls -

WAR DEPARTMENT ARMY SERVICE FORCES

TRANSMITTAL SHEET

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то	Director, Korale Bervices Divisi		(Location) or Mueller	01
DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED COMMUNICATION	Carant a min	: Ktdtesws)	(Kineston)	***************************************
FROM	Army Information Branch		.File No }	
	Person Benega, a accentinga	ELonation)	(Telephnor)	***************************************

1. It is requested that the be initiated that the following transfer:

Name

nivi fr

Assgd to

2nd Lt. Gerald Tannebaum AGN 0-1558212, Ord.

Morale Services Replacement Fool, Lexington, AFRS, MSD, 1421 Va. with T/D at present in Los Angeles, Calif. AFRS, MSD, 1421 North Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.

Br. Office Hors.,

- 2. No travel is involved.
- 3. A vacancy exists in the T/O to which the transfer is requested.

DANIEL M. HOUSE Captain, CE Administrative Officer Armed Forces Radio Service.

MATORIAL

Aug 3_ 1944

HQS, LOS ANGELES SHANCH OFFICE Morals Services Division, A.S.F. 6011 Santa Menica Boulevard Los Angeles, 38, California

In Reply Refer To:

SPASL 201-Tannebaum, Gerald, 26 Lt. (12 June 44) 12 June 1944

SUBJECT: Recommendation for Promotion of Officer.

TO: The Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.

THEO: Director, Morale Services Division, ASF, Washington, D. C.

1. It is recommended that the following-maned officer be promoted to the grade of lat Lieutanist.

a. Names Gerald Tammebaum

b. Grade: 2d Lioutenant

c. Serial Number: 0-1558212

d. Arm or Service Ord. Dept.

s. Date of Last Promotion Home Date of Original Appointment 4 December 1943 Date of Call to Active Duty 4 December 1943

2. A position vacancy in the grade of lat Lieutenant and of the arm or service of the officer manual above exists in this branch and will exist after the promotion of all other officers of this branch previously recommended on whose recommendations final action has not been taken.

3. a. Positien vacancy to be occupied: let Lieutenaut, Eadie Program Officer, Los Angeles Branch Office, Morale Services Division, ASF, 6011 Santa Monica Boulsvard, Los Angeles 38, California.

Program Officer in the Saitorial sub-section of the Program Section. His duties consist of listening to transcriptions of commercial network broadcasts with the domestic retreadcast unit, and to eliminate all numercial mantions, dialogue and routines that conflict with security and policy directives of the War Department, Mavy or Office of War Information. Thesking to make sure delations in programs are properly made is also part of his duties; also he edits saripts from the standpoint of policy on programs that are produced by Armed Forces Radio Service. In addition, he is required to attend reheares and performances of programs produced by Armed Forces Radio Services.

4. 2d Lt. Tancebaum has olserly demonstrated his qualification for higher grade for a period of firm months by actual occupation of a position and performance of duties appropriate to the grade and corresponding to the position he is to occupy as follows:

Principal Duty

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Radio Program Officer
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Prior Principal Duty

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From To

Special Service School Ord. Sch., APG. Md.

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5. The promotion of this officer is definitely to the best interests of the service.

ROY W. TAYLOR, Major, F. A., Commanding.

SPMSA 201 Tannebaum, Gerald (12 June 44)

lst Ind.

HEAD DARTERS, MORALE SERVICES DIVISION, ASP, Westington, D. C., 15 June 1944.

TO: Commanding General, Army Service Forces.

THRU: Director of Personnel, ASF.

1. Approved.

2. A position vacancy in the grade of lat lieutenant and of the arm or service of the officer named above exists in this Division and will exist after the promotion of all other officers of this Division proviously recommended on whose recommendations final action has not been taken.

T. H. OSBORN

*ajor General, G. 5.C., Director,

-2-Morale Services Division.

SPECIAL ORDERS No. 145

WAR DEPARTMENT. Washington, 17 June 19hh

EXTRACT

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By order of the Secretary of War:

OFFICIAL:

J. A. ULIO, Major General

The Adjustant General.

G. C. MARSHALL,

Chief of Staff.

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Mr. Carpenter. Colonel Todd, please.

STATEMENT OF LT. COL. JACK R. TODD

The Chairman. Do you swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Colonel Topp. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be seated.

Give the committee your full name, Colonel. Colonel Topp. Lt. Col. Jack R. Todd, T-o-d-d.

The Chairman. Proceed, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter. How long have you been in the military service, Colonel Todd?

Colonel Topp. Fifteen years, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. Colonel Todd, did you have an opportunity to study the conditions of Korea, especially as to the treatment of prisoners of war during this last war there?

Colonel Todd. I did, sir. I was Chief of the War Crimes Division in

Korea for 18 months.

Mr. Carpenter. And you were actually in Korea?

Colonel Topp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you tell this committee what you found out

in your official activities with the War Crimes Commission?

Colonel Todd. Sir, on the basis of 18 months of investigating alleged reports of atrocities and mistreatment of American prisoners of war, I can truthfully state that everything that these ex-prisoners have testified to here before this committee have been true. They are backed up by hundreds of written statements that I have taken over there, sworn statements, from returned American as well as South Korean prisoners of war.

The stories show remarkable unanimity; the men all suffered the

same experiences.

There were, in my opinion, no American POW's, except those captured right at the end of the hostilities, who are not victims of atrocious treatment while they were in the hands of the Communists. In my experiences in interviewing returnees on Operation Little Switch, which was the return of the sick and wounded which preceded the big return, and then further experiences on Big Switch, interviewing returnees, American and South Korean former prisoners of war, it is my considered opinion that there was a conspiracy on the part of the Communist high command, both Communist and North Korean, to exterminate prisoners of war.

I believe they would have exterminated every single solitary one of them had it not become apparent in the Panmunjom peace talks that

they must be able to return some living prisoners of war.

I believe that was the turning point, and had that not come about, I am convinced that there would have been no effort to spare or save these men, that they would have been permitted to die of malnutrition and lack of medical care and exposure to the elements.

The Communists clearly demonstrated on death marches and the conditions that they permitted to prevail in their prisoner-of-war camps that they had utterly no respect for the Geneva Convention and

no intention, utterly no intention, of saving a life of a prisoner, or, let alone, returning a healthy prisoner of war.

The Chairman. In other words, they only became a commodity to

use in their bargaining?

Colonel Topp. Exactly. They became something that could be bartered as one of the elements in buying a truce in Korea. And when that became apparent to the Communists, as these men who were there in the prison camps will tell you, they began slowly to improve the conditions in the camps, they issued a little more food, and so on. But as the peace talks went up and down, in other words, as conditions appeared favorable or unfavorable, they dealt with them accordingly; which indicated they dealt with them like cattle or dogs or anything else they would want to trade.

Mr. Carpenter. Colonel, we have some pictures over here which have been supplied to us by the Department of the Army. I believe you are familiar with them. I wish you at this time would take a

pointer and interpret these pictures for us, if you please.

Colonel Todd. Yes.

Do you want me to go over there?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. There is a microphone there.

First, Colonel, can you tell us about the authenticity of these

pictures?

Colonel Topp. Yes, sir. These are all authentic military photographs taken on the spot by military photographers. And they are all authenticated by the United States Signal Corps.



The first picture (Exhibit No. 490) there is of a trench on the outskirts of the jail, around the compound of the jail in the city of Kaesong, Korea. This atrocity was perpetrated by the Communists in September of 1950, after they had overrun the city of Kaesong. They

put about 5,000 South Korean political prisoners into jails, compounds. And along with them they had some 42 American soldiers who were stragglers, who had been left behind when the Americans were forced

to evacuate Kaesong before the oncoming Communist forces.

When the United Nations troops broke out of the Pusan perimeter and started moving north again they returned to Kaesong and just before entering the city when it became apparent to the Communists that the city was going to be retaken, they took these 5,000 political prisoners, the South Koreans, and including the 42 Americans, out and machinegunned them. They bulldozed big ditches and forced them to stand on the side of the ditches and shot them down with machineguns and then pushed dirt over them with the bulldozers.

The Chairman. Were there any survivors of the first picture.

Colonel, any American survivors of that massacre?

Colonel Todd. There were two survivors among the Americans, one of whom died before he could be gotten back to a collecting point. However, one did survive and gave an eyewitness account of this

The CHAIRMAN. Those that were machinegunned and weren't in-

stantly killed, how were they disposed of, if you know?

Colonel Topp. They were bludgeoned to death with rocks and clubs. And if you look there you see a tremendous ax. I have personally had that thing in my hand, and it is a very lethal weapon, and that was used to kill some of the boys.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, the next.

Colonel Topp. The next photograph (Exhibit No. 490-A) is a picture of 5 American boys who were killed by their North Korean captors 36 hours after they had been taken prisoner, and they were shot down in this little hut where they were under the guard of 2 Communist guards, simply because they didn't want to take the trouble to evacuate them to the rear. They opened fire on them and shot them down in cold blood.

The next picture (Exhibit No. 490-B) here is a picture of the death These men were all captured way down in the south and central part of Korea and were marched north during the month of You will observe that many are barefooted. October of 1950. man has no shirt. They are all terribly emaciated, and they are being exhibited here in the streets of Pyongyang in Korea.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the weather condition at that time in October?

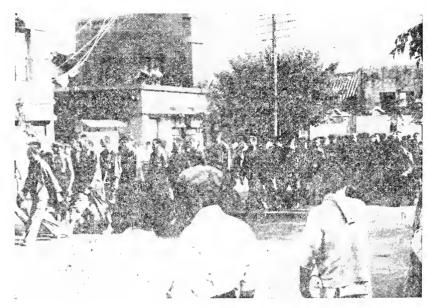
Colonel Todo. Very cold, sir; very cold.

The last picture (Exhibit No. 490-C) there is a picture of an American soldier who is 1 of 8 who were captured on a—they weren't patrolling, they were out repairing wire, communications wire, and they were captured by Communist guerrillas. Six of the eight were killed in the same fashion that this man here was killed, with numerous puncture wounds with a bamboo spear. Medical testimony is to the effect that none of these wounds, or no 2 or 3 would have caused death, but when they are multiplied to the extent they were on these men, the men just died of agony.

Mr. Carpenter. At this time I would like to have those pictures that the colonel has just interpreted be made a part of the record. The CHARMAN. By reference they will be made a part of the record.



Ехнівіт Хо. 490-В



Ехипыт Хо. 490-С



(Photographs referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 490, 490-A,

490-B, and 490-C" and appear above.)

Mr. Carrenter. Also, I would like to call the committee's attention that these atrocities were committed in 1950, prior to the letter of January 10, 1951, wherein John W. Powell wrote Mrs. Charles L. Gill the following:

We know from the clipping in magazines we receive from home that there has been little if any news of the American POW's, except for fabricated atrocity stories, and we felt the enclosed clippings from the local papers here might give you some reassurance.

The Chairman. Thank you, Colonel Todd.

Colonel Todd. You are welcome, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness? Mr. CARPENTER. Mr. Tredick.

TESTIMONY OF STANLEY TREDICK, BETHESDA, MD.

The Chairman. Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Tredick. I do.

The Chairman. Give the committee your full name, please?

Mr. Tredick. Stanley Tredick.

The Chairman. Where do you reside?

Mr. Tredick. At 7602 Colony Terrace, Bethesda, Md. The Chairman. What is your business or profession?

Mr. Tredick. I am a United Press photographer.

Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Tredick, did you have some experience during the Korean war in Korea?

Mr. Tredick. I covered the Korean war for Acme News Pictures, which takes United Press photos, as a civilian war correspondent.

Mr. Carpenter. As a war correspondent, did you have opportunity to see any of the atrocities committed upon the American prisoners of war?

Mr. Tredick. Yes; I witnessed one atrocity.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you please tell the committee what you witnessed?

Mr. Tredick. As early as—I believe it was in about the middle of August 1950—we were told of 36 American who were lined up on the edge of a ravine and shot in the back, their hands were tied behind their backs and they were shot.

I am trying to get it straight.

We first discovered this by a survivor who was brought back to a hospital to be interviewed, and he pointed out several of the assassins and told us where this had taken place; which was just below the Naktong River, about 30 miles above the Taegu. This area was in sort of a no-man's land at the time.

So we motored up there. We had a chaplain with us who was brought along to administer the last rites, and we discovered the bodies in this ravine. Their hands were tied behind their backs with wire. They were lined up at the edge of the ravine and shot with "burp" guns, and they fell into the ravine face down. Then the Communists came along, and those who moved or groaned or were still a little alive were shot in the head or in the back with a pistol.

This one survivor—there were several survivors—but this one who had been shot several times, he took some blood from one of his buddies next to him and he rubbed it all over his face and arms and just lay there, and when they hit him with a rifle but he didn't move and didn't breathe and just stayed there until they left. They were discovered by a scouting party leader, and he was brought back to this hospital.

Mr. Carpenter. And you saw all this with your own eyes?
Mr. Tredick. I didn't witness the shooting but I saw this—

Mr. Carpenter. How many bodies were there?

Mr. Tredick. There were 36 Americans, to the best of my recollection.

Mr. Carpenter. And they were all cuffed, their hands were tied? Mr. Tredick. All hands were tied behind their backs; they were shot in the back.

The CHAIRMAN. And this happened in 1950?

Mr. Tredick. In 1950, August. Mr. Carpenter. That is all.

The Chairman. Thank you very much.

The next witness.

Mr. Carpenter. Colonel McLaughlin.

TESTIMONY OF LT. COL. JOHN N. McLAUGHLIN, UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

The Charman. Colonel, do you swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Colonel McLaughlin. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Carpenter. Will you please state your name? Colonel McLaughlin. Lt. Col. John N. McLaughlin. Mr. Carpenter. What is your business or occupation?

Colonel McLaughlin. I am an officer in the United States Marine Corps, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. How long have you been an officer in the United States Marine Corps?

Colonel McLaughlin. Thirteen years.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you do duty in Korea during this last war?

Colonel McLaughlin. Yes; I did, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. Will you please state the nature of that duty?

Colonel McLatgillin. Initially I went to South Korea in July of 1950 as an adviser of the 1st Cavalry Division, their amphibious landing. Later I returned to Japan, went back to Korea with the Tenth Army Corps Staff at the landing at Inchon, and I participated in the action at Inchon and Seoul, and also at Wonsan and in the Hamhung area, and I was captured by the Communist forces on November 30, 1950.

Mr. Carpenter. How long were you a prisoner of war?

Colonel McLaughlin. Thirty-three months.

Mr. Carpenter. How many camps were you in during that time, prisoner-of-war camps?

Colonel McLaughlin. Three organized camps, sir. Mr. Carpenter. Were they all in North Korea?

Colonel McLaughlin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. I wish you would tell this committee, Colonel, your experiences in the prisoner-of-war camps, with particular reference to the type of indoctrination you underwent and also especially as to the China Weekly and later the China Monthly Review.

Colonel McLaughlin. Well, sir, I first encountered this organized forced indoctrination at Kanggye, near the capital of North Korea,

the then capital of North Korea.

It appeared to me to be a deliberately organized indoctrination program, which was thought of from the phychological viewpoint. It rested considerably on the state of mental depression and the physical state of the prisoner upon arrival at these prisoner-of-war camps.

At this time it generally took a march of 100 to 250 miles on the part of any prisoners to reach these camps, and it was midwinter.

Another factor which they utilized was intimidation and duress in order to launch their indoctrination program and to sustain it. The major portion of the indoctrination consisted primarily of very lengthy lectures and also study periods, which were conducted by a squad. These squad study periods were based on the use of Communist literature which was issued to each squad.

Initially the major items of Communist literature were the Shang-

hai News, the People's China, and the China Monthly Review.

The Chinese would issue these magazines to these various squads, with marked articles which must be read and commented upon. And all of these pieces of literature were Communist in content, including this China Monthly Review.

As a matter of fact, although the name of an American appeared

as an editor of this document——

The CHAIRMAN. What was his name?

Colonel McLaughlin. It was Powell, sir. I don't believe that most of the Americans believed that an American was actually there editing that magazine. I know I did recall that the editor of this magazine had been an American named Powell who was a prisoner of the Japanese. I don't think I knew at the time that his son was then editing this magazine. As a matter of fact, I think it would have been inconceivable to the American prisoners of war that any American citizen was there editing that magazine and writing this Communist ideology and this anti-American propaganda.

Mr. Carpenter. Now that you know he is an American citizen,

what do you believe?

Colonel McLaughlin. Sir, I still don't believe that any American

citizen worthy of the name could do such a thing.

Mr. Carpenter. Colonel, will you tell us more now about the indoctrination, with particular reference to the China Monthly Review; how you were forced to read the articles and report on them?

Colonel McLaughlin. Yes, sir.

These study periods were very closely supervised, and anyone who did not participate in the study program was usually disciplined. There was one particular incident involving an American officer in which the Chinese who was listening in on this study period heard him say that the paper was not worth—the statement was that this particular article was not worth the paper it was written on. For making that statement this man was very severely disciplined, and I believe it ultimately led to his death. He was in a very weakened state at the particular time.

In addition, the Chinese utilized punishment by force in order to bring certain people into line. They also utilized the hungry state of the prisoners and the threatened withholding of food in order to discipline prisoners.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you punished for not accepting the indoc-

trination?

Colonel McLaughlin. I was punished in early 1952 for opposing this forced indoctrination. However, the CCF was very careful not to accuse us of opposing forced indoctrination. I was accused of conducting subversive activity in the camp in that I had attempted to influence my fellow prisoners in their thinking and in their actions.

The Charman. What was your punishment, Colonel?

Colonel McLaughlin. I was kept in confinement out of the compound for almost 4 months. Most of this was solitary confinement.

Mr. Carpenter. Were there quite a group of instructors that were

at each camp carrying on this indoctrination program?

Colonel McLaughlin. Yes, sir.

In addition to the camp security forces, there was a definite political organization in the camps.

Mr. Carpenter. What nationality were the instructors?

Colonel McLaughern. The instructors were English-speaking Chinese, with one exception. I did see an occidental in one of the camps who was an instructor for the Turkish troops. And the Chinese claimed he was from western China, Sinkiang Province, where I understand there are people of Turkish origin.

Mr. Carpenter. Who were the guards?

Colonel McLaughlin. The guards were apparently regular Chinese troops.

Mr. Carpenter. You had no North Korean guards?

Colonel McLaughlin. Initially, at Pyoktong the camp was guarded by Koreans, but the Chinese took over that camp, and I did not come into contact with the Korean guards thereafter.

Mr. Carpenter. Were there many copies of this China Weekly Re-

view, and later Monthly Review, in the camps?

Colonel McLaughlin. When it was issued to us, which was frequently, there were sufficient copies to issue at least one copy per squad.

Mr. Carpenter. Was it delivered regularly?

Colonel McLaughlin. With fair regularity after the first 6 months, sir.

Mr. Carrenter. Did you get that before you got food?

The Chairman. Medical supplies? Colonel McLaughlin. Yes, sir.

The period in the winter and spring of 1950-51, that was one of our major complaints, that we lacked for food and medicine, and the reason the Chinese gave that we lacked for this was that they could not transport these items of daily necessity into the camps. However, they always seemed to be able to transport this scurrilous literature.

Mr. Carpenter. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Colonel.

The next witness.

Mr. Carpenter. Captain O'Connor.

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH L. O'CONNOR, UNITED STATES INFANTRY

The Chairman. Captain, will you be sworn and testify?

Do you swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Captain O'Connor. I do.

The Charman. Will you give the committee your full name, Captain?

Captain O'Conner. Capt. Joseph L. O'Conner.

The Chairman. How long have you been in the Armed Forces of the United States?

Captain O'CONNOR. Thirteen years and ten months. The CHAIRMAN. What branch are you assigned to?

Captain O'Connor. I am an Infantry of the United States officer.

The Chairman. Proceed, please, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter. Captain, were you in the Korean war?

Captain O'CONNOR. Yes, sir; I was in the Korean war. I went into Korea in August of 1950.

Mr. Carpenter. And at sometime during your service there, were you taken prisoner of war?

Captain O'Connor. I was taken prisoner of war November 5, 1950.

Mr. Carpenter. How long were you a prisoner of war?

Captain O'Coxxor. Thirty-four months, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Would you tell this committee your experiences as a prisoner of war, with particular reference to the indoctrination you received from your captors and with special reference to the China Weekly, and later Monthly Review?

Captain O'Connor. Yes, sir.

Initially the indoctrination program was not an intensive program. We were in a valley about 12 kilometers south of Pyoktong, and there were approximately 34 officers in this 1 house. We were kept separately, we were not allowed to go out of the house. And during that period the indoctrination was the bringing of publications into the house and giving them to us to read.

We did not—after looking at the publication, realizing what it was, we would take it and throw it over into the corner, or use it for other

purposes.

However, at that time we were under a joint headquarters of Chinese and North Koreans. They knew that we weren't reading these articles that they gave us to read, and then started either coming up to our house and reading them to us, or getting one of the American prisoners to read the article.

In January of 1951 we were removed from this valley into Pyoktong, which was later known as Camp No. 5. Here that same type of indoc-

trination was carried on.

The officers' compound was organized into squads, and each squad was given a publication and told to read it. After the article was read, we were told to give our "cognition" of the article, or the contents thereof. That was either in writing or in a verbal dissertation.

Then on April 1 of 1951—I believe it was—that the Chinese took complete control of the camp at Pyoktong. On April 10 our compound commander gave us a speech in which he told us that we were going to learn the truth, that we were going to have an intensive indoctrination program, and that we had better learn the truth; right

now we were war criminals, we had the blood of the innocent Koreans

on our hands, and that we should cleanse ourselves.

It was also at this speech that this compound commander stated that the Chinese did not believe in or were not signatories to the Geneva Convention, that they would not be bound by the Geneva Convention, that they had their own policy, which is known as the lenient policy: If you learned the truth, you would survive.

The CHAIRMAN. And if you did not learn the truth, what did they

say?

Captain O'CONNOR. If you didn't learn the truth, he said, "We will keep you here until you do; and if you die here, we will dig a hole 30 to

40 feet deep so you don't smell up North Korea."

Immediately after that we began a very intensive indoctrination program. This program initially was to sell us the idea that the American imperialists instigated the war in Korea. It was during this program that such publications as the China Weekly Review, the People's China, For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy, Masses and Mainstream, Political Affairs, and so forth, were introduced into the camp.

Yesterday while attending your hearing here, sir, I noticed this particular item "Background of the Civil War in Korea." And I believe and am quite certain that it is one of the items that was marked for our discussion in our indoctrination program to teach us that this

war in Korea was instigated by the American imperialists.

Later, during the spring of 1951, the Chinese said that "We are going to have a big peace rally," since we were all learning the truth, that we were going to declare our intentions for peace. It was at that time they forced the prisoners out of the houses, tried to get them to carry

peace banners, peace flags and so forth, and have a parade.

I at that time was quite ill. I had beriberi and dysentery. My legs were swelled to an abnormal size and I could hardly walk. I was excused from this peace rally. I was laying—the house in which my squadroom was was right close to the mess hall. The prisoners were promised that with their full cooperation we would have a feast that night. And while the rest of the prisoners were out in this so-called peace parade, the Chinese carried rice, a piece of hog or pork up there, also some eggs, and some other foods that we had not seen since capture.

Before the prisoners returned to the compound, an excited Chinaman ran up the hill and they started talking up at the mess hall. I saw that food that was laid out there for our feast carried away that afternoon. I later learned that our compound refused to shout slogans except for one they made up of their own, which was: "If it wasn't for Mao-Tse we wouldn't be lousy." And the English-speaking Chinaman managed to pick it up, and as a result, we didn't have our feast.

Before the rest of the prisoners returned, a Chinaman approached the house looking for all those that were sick and allowed to remain back in the compound area. I was one of those, and I had an idea what was coming because we had known that we were going to be asked to sign a statement at that time. And I slunk back into the corner trying

to avoid this Chinaman.

He asked—went in one room and got those people to sign and asked if there were any more people in the house, and someone mentioned my name, that I was in the next room. He came in at that time and asked me to sign a statement, which read in effect something like this:

"We, the undersigned, have learned, through study, that the Korean war was instigated by a handful of American imperialists, that we want to leave the camp of the warmongers and join the camp of peace."

I told him I would not sign this statement at this time. He said "You are sick, aren't you, O'Connor?" I said "Yes, I am sick." He said "You will not get any medicine, you will not get well if you do not sign this."

I insisted that I would not sign it. And after a little badgering on

his part. I did sign this statement.

The signing of this statement was leading to further study on the war in Korea, trying to blame it on the American Government. We had intensive study along that same line until perhaps a week or maybe 2 weeks later when the peace committee of the camp drew up a peace appeal which was to be sent to the United Nations, to the World Peace

Congress, I think, and several other places.

This peace appeal, as they called it, had 6 or 7 statements in it. One was the withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet from around Taiwan, which we call Formosa; two, the admittance of New China into the United Nations; three, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; four, the allowing of the Koreans to handle their own internal affairs; and statements along that nature. There were about seven points to that appeal.

During the period of time they would take a consensus as to whether we would sign, or would not sign this peace appeal, during our in-

doctrination programs in our squad rooms.

During that period of time, several people were taken out individually and convinced that they should sign the peace appeal. I, myself, was a holdout until the last day, at which time there were about 14 of us that were taken out individually by different Chinese instructors. I was taken up on a mountain or a hill near the compound. There I was given the smooth treatment, "You have signed that you want to be a peace lover and join the camp of peace," and so forth. Then I was stood at attention with a guard and placed over me, and after I would move or something I would get a bat with a bayonet, and then a little later this Chinaman would come back and give me the old smooth-off stuff again and offer me a cigarette. And that off-and-on business there kept up for about an hour and a half to 2 hours.

And I think what convinced me most that I should sign was that he said I would be removed from the prisoners compound and tried by a people's court. Well, all the Chinese papers, the Shanghai News and so forth, that ever had anyone tried by a people's court, it is tantamount to conviction and death. So I told him that I would sign it. And he personally took me down and I signed that particular document.

Then we later had classes on the illegality of U. N. intervention in Korea, using the United Nations Charter, and their interpretation of it to show where our entry was illegal; using a background of material from these publications like the China Weekly Review and New China, the Shanghai News, and the little paper from the Chung Hua News Agency called the Daily News Release.

We also had indoctrination of, or rather teachings on the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union and Bolshevik. We studied Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and dialectical materialism. Then when the negotiations began we had intensive studies on why the American warmongers did not want to end the war in Korea and were

holding up the negotiations.

We also had studies on bacteriological warfare. However, they were not in an organized or intensive manner. It was at that time that Colonel McLaughlin referred to that they discontinued the study. However, they would take men by squads or groups into the Chinese houses, and a Chinaman would read the papers such as vesterday we had the excerpts from the China Weekly Review. They would read those articles to us and ask us for our comments on them.

Also, there was, I think, a democratic lawyers' group, and a scientist's group, a supposedly scientist's group, to investigate germ warfare in Korea, that put out a finding on the thing. And they had a large building that they later converted to a headquarters building, where they set up all these pictures of the germ warfare—"proof, the irrefutable facts," that they had that we, the United States, was using bacteriological warfare in Korea.

An interesting sidelight to show you how ridiculous that is, sir, I would like to recite a little incident that happened in our camp.

I was on a water-carrying detail at that time. We had to go out of the compound with two buckets, a group of men, and carrying our bathing water and so forth back into the compound. One morning coming back into the compound we saw this either large mouse or a small rat laying in the street. So one of the water carriers said, "Well, there is some more "irrefutable proof" that we have bacteriological warfare."

So we picked it up and we decided we were going to take it in harass the "Chinks" a little bit with it and show them this "irrefutable

proof."

In the meantime someone got the idea "Well, let us do it up right." So we took this mouse into the schoolhouse that we were using as our quarters and had one of the men sew a little harness for it, made a homemade parachute for the mouse, put a patch on him—I don't know whether we put sergeant's stripes or corporal's stripes on him, and put "USAF 6-7/8" and Captain Manto here took it out and hung it on a tree along the path that they generally used, the most likely

used path that the Chinese used.

The guard looked at it, got fairly close to it, and he snuck up a little closer and saw what it was, backed away. He called another guard, and I think they fell out the guard to look at this thing. Then later they sent word up to the camp headquarters, and later a Chinese medical man came down, got on a white gown, a face mask, a skull cap, gloves, and boots, a bag, and some chopsticks, and he got up and took that "bacteriological warfare exhibit" down with the chopsticks, put it in his bag and moved off.

And I don't know, I hope our little horseplay did not contribute to the propaganda of the Chinese by giving them some more bacteriolog-

ical specimens.

Another incident along that line was: Aircraft flew over, not infrequently flew over our prison camp, and I think there is a thing that they call "window" that they drop out of a plane to jam enemy radar sets so that they can't be picked up. This stuff they throw out is like Christmas-tree tinsel in different lengths. One morning we were

awakened, and our compound was more or less littered with this tinsel, and the Chinesee would not let us out, to go out of the compound grounds, because this surely must be some of that biological warfare that the Americans are using. And later a group of the Chinese came up, again in their white gowns, their skull caps, the chopsticks, the little bag, the boots, and started picking up this tinsel.

Well, one of the prisoners got disgusted, I guess, with the whole thing and ran up and picked up a piece of the tinsel, put it in his mouth, chewed it up and spit it out. They got quite excited about this and were going to take this man to the hospital; I don't believe

that they did.

Another instance along that same line—now, this is merely hearsay, as a story passes around in a prison camp—in this one particular compound the Chinese had a beetle or bug of some sort and had the compound filing by to see this bug, this was concrete evidence that the Americans were using bacteriological warfare because these bugs were never found in Korea. So they had the compound filing by, and this one prisoner got to it, reached in and picked it up, put it in his mouth, chewed it up and swallowed it.

The CHAIRMAN. Ate the evidence? Captain O'CONNOR. Ate the evidence.

That shows how ridiculous they can get on their bacteriological warfare thing.

When they were taking us into this house reading these "irrefutable

facts" to us-

The CHAIRMAN. Did they take you into civilian homes?

Captain O'Connor. Civilians were moved out when the Chinese moved in, sir.

The Chairman. When you say they took you into some house—Captain O'Connor. They were previously civilian homes that were occupied by the Chinese, and each instructor would have his room in there, and he would be—well, we were broken down into platoons, sort of an army breakdown, and we all had a platoon leader to control our behavior, and so forth, and we also had a political commissar for each platoon, an English-speaking man. He took us in there and he would ask us our opinion.

Well, we had quite a few Air Force men, and we could shoot holes into their so-called confessions and their facts. However, we elected to remain silent so that we would not get anyone into trouble by

trying to show where they were wrong.

The Chairman. This indoctrination course you speak of, certain magazines and newspaper publications, what books or novels came

into your camp?

Captain O'CONNOR. We had quite a few books and novels. For instance, here is Monica Fulton's That's Why I Went. We had Thunder Out of China.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Captain O'Connor. This is by Agnes Smedley.

We had this Bases and Empire, which we called Bases and Umpires. This was read to us over the public-address system in Pyoktong, chapter by chapter, and we were taken and set on cold cement steps, no padded clothing or anything else, listening to this.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the author of that?

Captain O'Connor. This is by George Marion, sir.

We also had Howard Fast's Citizen Tom Paine. We had to read this during our course of instruction, the Great Conspiracy, by Michael Sayros and Albert F. Kahn

Sayres and Albert E. Kahn.

We would read a chapter of it and then we would have to give our "cognition," and this "cognition" had to agree with what was in this book.

Mr. Carpenter. I notice you used the word "cognition." Was that

the word usually used?

Captain O'CONNOR. That was the word usually used. It started by the Chinese setting up in mimeographed form, then they would have some questions there, and then they would say "Now give your cognition of why the American imperialists intervened in the Korean civil war," or "Why did you stop beating your grandmother?" It is the same type of question.

Then we had to either verbally give or have someone write down

our "cognition" or idea of what this stuff was.

Mr. Carpenter. Will you identify more of those books, if you can,

Captain?

Captain O'CONNOR. Well, Citizen Tom Paine. China Fights Back. This, I believe, is another of Agnes Smedley's books.

The Twilight of World Capitalism, by Foster, was a textbook.

The American, by Howard Fast, we had.

Outline of Political History of the Americas, by Theodore Dreiser. And toward the latter part of our captivity we did get in a few of the classics, such as Les Miserables, Tale of Two Cities, David Copperfield. We had Mark Twain's Life on the Mississippi and several of the classics. However, they were all of the type book that deals with the downtrodden, and so forth. The Hunchback of Notre Dame.

I think we got Anna Karenina, by Leo Tolstoy; War and Peace,

by Tolstoy; and other classics.

However, these type books were used as textbooks, The Great Conspiracy, The Twilight of World Capitalism.

Mr. Carpenter. And how about periodicals and newspapers?

Captain O'Connor. Periodicals, we received the New York Daily Worker, the London Daily Worker, the San Francisco—I think it is called the People's World, the National Guardian, this magazine here called Masses and Mainstream, this magazine called Political Affairs. We received this New Times and the China Monthly Review, People's China, and we would get magazines such as this China Reconstruction, from all the satellite countries of Russia, maybe Bulgarian magazines, Russian pictorials, and things like that.

Mr. Carpenter. Captain, at the time, did you notice who the editor

of the China Weekly, and later Monthly, Review was?

Captain O'Connor. Yes. I noticed that it was a Mr. Powell.

Mr. CARPENTER. Did you know at that time he was an American citizen?

Captain O'CONNOR. We were told that he was American. However, we couldn't actually realize that an American citizen would do such a thing, and if he did, how could he write that; I mean I don't see how a man could write that stuff.

The Chairman. You gentlemen might be interested in going down to the Press Club at 3:15 and ask him some questions along that line, because he is holding a press conference, and if you respect and uphold

the honor of the American press, I think maybe you could give them

some enlightenment.

Captain O'Connor. Sir, yesterday I sat here and I ran the gamut of all my emotions. I cried when Mrs. Gill was on that stand, and I was angry when a man, Mr. Powell, was on the stand. I have lost a lot of friends in Korea, sir, good friends. And to think that a man like the man that sat in this chair can come back to the United States and feel free to go around and call a press conference and spread this vicious propaganda in the manner in which he does it; I was angry, sir, filled up to the top.

The CHAIRMAN. I can understand your emotions.

Captain O'Connor. And I personally feel that if we have laws—and I know we don't have any on the books now but that we get them to take care of people like Mr. Powell. And I am afraid my emotions might overshadow me and I might take it into my own hands if I go down to see the gentleman who writes this type stuff that I was forced to read.

I felt that I was under uncertain circumstances, and I was forced to read it. But I don't want the people of the United States to read

that kind of stuff.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Captain.

Captain O'Connor. You are welcome. The CHAIRMAN. Call the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. JOSEPH V. MANTO, UNITED STATES INFANTRY

The Chairman. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Captain Manto. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the committee your full name, Captain?

Captain Manto. Joseph V. Manto, M-a-n-t-o, captain, United

States Infantry.

The CHAIRMAN. Captain, do you plead guilty to putting the par-

achute on the rat in the tree?

Captain Manto. I have told that story many times since I have come back, sir. I have gotten quite a few laughs out of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You plead guilty to that, do you? Captain Manto. Yes, sir.

The Chairman, Proceed, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter. Captain, were you a prisoner of war during the Korean war?

Captain Manto. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. Carpenter. When were you taken prisoner? Captain Manto. November 28, 1952.

Mr. Carpenter. How long were you a prisoner of war?

Captain Manto. For about 33 months, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you held prisoner of war in North Korea?

Captain Manto. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. Carpenter. How many camps were you in there in North Korea?

Captain Manto. I was in three major camps, sir; Death Valley, Pyoktong, or camp No. 5 as it was later called; Penchang-li or camp

No. 2 as it was later called.

Mr. Carpenter. We know, Captain, you have had many experiences in the prisoner-of-war camps. The committee would like for you this afternoon to tell us about your experiences with reference to the indoctrination that was imposed upon you by your captivity, and more specifically, about how the China Weekly, and later Monthly Review was used for indoctrination purposes.

Captain Manto. Well, as Captain O'Connor stated here on the stand prior to my taking the stand, we went into a somewhat intensive and comprehensive indoctrination period, which lasted a little bit over 3 months and an overall indoctrination period which lasted 1 year.

During this period of indoctrination, I felt that the Chinese Communists, our captors, were trying to make Communists out of us. They would present all this material that they had at their hand, all this Communist material, all the material that they wanted to give to us, in the form of the China Monthly Review or the China Weekly Review, as it was called. We were forced to read articles out of that particular publication—articles which I felt were slanderous to my Government, slanderous to the American people.

Mr. Carpenter. Also slanderous to the American soldier? Captain Manto. Slanderous to the American soldier.

I would like to bring out that this Mr. Powell, when he has his press conference this afternoon, sir, I hope he bears in mind the boys that died in North Korea. These are the boys that he has to answer to.

Mr. Carpenter. Do you feel he contributed to some of those boys'

deaths because of his writings?

Captain Manto. I believe he did.

I remember one case in particular. I feel that an American officer died as a consequence of having to read this slanderous material. This officer made a statement that this particular subject—I think it was a speech by the Chinese premier Chou En-Lai—the statement this officer made was that the speech was not worth the paper that it was printed on.

Well, without further to-do, that particular officer was taken out of our compound. We didn't see him for about 3 weeks. He was later brought back to us. The man was completely broken, I thought, and

he had to criticize himself.

As you know, the Chinese people followed the theory of self-criticism.

And it wasn't but a very short period after that where this par-

ticular officer passed away.

That is why I say by reading these articles, these slanderous materials that were put forth in these various magazines. And this China Monthly Review, in my estimation, was one of the publications that were forced upon us, we had to read them. And in that instance I would say that it was directly responsible for the death of one of our officers.

It was inconceivable to us to realize that an American citizen—of course, we didn't definitely know this Mr. Powell was an American citizen; we assumed that because we heard it through the grapevine, the Chinese had told us, because they made quite a bit out of it, they

wanted Americans on their side, that these Americans would in turn

spout off the same language that we speak to our people.

And it was, as I say, it was inconceivable to us, as prisoners over there in North Korea, to realize that an American citizen would let that sort of business go on, that he would print such slander, terrific, filthy lies. That is all it amounted to.

As a matter of fact, it was more than one time that prisoners in my compound remarked that they would like to get their hands on

this particular gentleman, Mr. Powell.

We were given various magazines and publications to study, that is to mean, they were forced on us. The Chinese commissars, political instructors, would bring them down to the squads, and they had to be read by one of our people. We were forced. It was a formation. The squad had to be present, physically present in the squad room, in order to hear this article, whichever it may be, or whatever one was to be read that day, and it was a formation. Everyone had to be physically present.

I see quite a few magazines here and books that I recall that we had

Mr. Carpenter. Will you please identify them and name them? Captain Manto. I don't see this China Monthly Review here, sir.

However, we have the People's China, China Reconstruction.

And this one I always get a great kick out of, sir, because to me it has a "dilly-whanger" of a headline "For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy."

Political Affairs, Masses and Mainstream, this Deutsche Demo-

kratische Republik.

That is a typical example of their magazines. One of their leaders I think was the President of the Eastern German Republic at the time.

New Times, more Masses and Mainstream.

Then we had the books by Foster, Fast, George Marion, Kahn, this

Monica Felton.

That is why I make reference to her trip to Korea visiting the bombed-out towns, the American aviators indiscriminately bombing women and children.

She never mentioned the fact that no matter where you went in North Korea, the buildings were occupied by Chinese or North Korean troops.

Thunder Out of China; this Bases and Umpires, we got a great big

kick out of that.

China Fights Back.

This is by Howard Fast. Citizen Tom Paine.

Outline of the Political History of the Americas, by Foster.

The American, by Howard Fast; the Titan, by Theodore Dreiser; Twilight of World Capitalism, by Foster; The Great Conspiracy by Michael Sayres and Albert E. Kahn; various other books and publications I cannot recall.

Mr. Carpenter. But that was all "must" reading?

Captain Manto. They were "must."
The Chairman. Regardless of the shortage of your medical supplies and clothing and other things, the China Monthly Review always came through, did it not?

Captain Manto. It was a constant source of amazement to us, sir, how the publication China Monthly Review, or the China Weekly Review—to me one was synonymous with the other—would always seem to arrive at our camp and we would always have some article to read from that particular publication or some other publication. Our food, our medicine, never got through. They would tell us that our planes would bomb them out. After a while I got so disgusted at some of our fliers because they always seemed to bomb our food and medical barges coming in. They never seemed to bomb any of the barges coming in that were laden down with this propaganda.

So I came to this conclusion that our fliers were at fault, they were doing that purposely to starve us; I would know full well they were.

Mr. Carpenter. You say that facetiously, sir, of course?

Captain Manto. I hope so.

Mr. Carpenter. That is for the record.

Captain, how many hours a day did they utilize in your indoctrination?

Captain Manto. It varied. We were forced to study from 6 to 8 hours a day.

The Chairman. Under what conditions, weather and clothing and so forth?

Captain Manto. They didn't make any exceptions with the weather.

If it was raining, we still studied; if it was cold, we still studied.

The Charman. Were they heated rooms where you had to study?
Captain Manto. My dear sir, I don't believe you have ever been to

North Korea. There is no such thing as a heated room up there.

The Chairman. That is what I wanted you to describe to the com-

mittee, the physical conditions under which these forced indoctrinations were carried on.

Captain Manto. No, sir; the rooms were never heated. Many times in inclement weather, the cold weather, the classes were held outdoors. Then when the weather got extremely cold, extremely bad, they were held indoors, but no heat was furnished for any of the classes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any further questions, Mr. Carpenter?

Mr. Carpenter. Just one.

As part of their indoctrination, did that include attacks on our legislative committees and some members of our legislative bodies?

Captain Manto. Part of their indoctrination, or, I would say more than 50 percent, was aimed against the Government of the United States, trying to show us, to prove to us that our Government was decadent, run by a few imperialists, as they called it. We didn't have a government that was truly represented by the people; whereas, on the other hand, the Communist form of government was truly representative of the people.

Mr. Carpenter. Did you ever see individual names of our leading

officials criticized?

Captain Manto. Yes, sir; in these publications I have.

I recall of Mr. Truman, Mr. Acheson, Mr. Taft. If I am not mistaken, the chairman of this committee is well known in Communist circles, and they referred to him sometimes as a "lackey" and a "tool" and a "running dog."

I am making a specific reference to Senator Jenner, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a compliment. Thank you very much. Mr. CARPENTER. Do you have anything else you want to add?

Captain Maxro. In short, sir, they have a certain routine they go

They are told what to say.

I would like to further bring out that in this Communist setup, if People's China runs one article in there, the China Monthly Review

would run the same article, if not that day, 1 or 2 days later.

They speak about their freedom of speech and freedom of press. I don't ever recall Mr. Powell having an article in his publication that was beneficial to the Government of the United States. However, it would have been interesting to note what the outcome would be if Mr. Powell ever had the audacity to print such an article in favor of the United States.

Mr. Carpenter. That is all.

The Chairman. Any further questions, Senator Johnston?

Senator Johnston. In other words, when they found an article that hit the bell for the Communists, they would print it in the other magazines; is that right?

Captain Manto. Yes, sir.

Senator Johnston. Do you recall seeing in the China Monthly Review any article that was picked up from any other newspaper or

magazine?

Captain Manto. As I say, sir, at one time or another they all printed the same—in other words, I would like to prove that by a picture I have in mind depicting ex-President Truman at the time he was President of the United States. And they had him as an evil old man with fangs, and he has a dagger and a .45 and a couple of cannons out of his hip pocket, and he's got a Korean child in pain from his dagger or bayonet or whatever he is holding there, and People's China would print that cartoon, and then I know full well it would appear in the other Communist publications, to include the China Monthly Review, and for that matter, all publications peculiar to the communistic people, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Captain, we have blown up a number of pages that appeared in the China Monthly Review on various occasions, and I will ask you to state whether or not those are typical pages, and

whether or not you have seen those various pages?

Captain Manto. Yes, sir; these on the right are the China Monthly Review in September 1951, I believe—I can't quite make out the year and the picture there, of the Korean women crying, I think is on this bacteriological warfare.

I would like to inspect the pictures closer, if I may, sir.

The Chairman. You may. Mr. Carpenter. Now that you have examined them, can you testify further?

Captain Manto. Yes, sir.

I recognize that one on the left in particular, when this woman, Monica Felton, from Great Britain, came over to North Korea, and she spoke to these victims of bombed-out villages and so forth. They made quite a big to-do about that; played it up in their newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Monica Felton come to your camp?

Captain Maxro. I believe at the time we were at Camp No. 2, and Monica Felton, it was my impression that she was afraid to come to the officer's camp, sir. Never, at any—well, the closest we ever got to a white or Caucasian reporter of that type was to our headquarters. They would never dare set foot in our compound, sir.

No; Monica Felton, to my estimation, she never did come to our

camp, Camp No. 2, that is.

Now, in the upper left-hand corner there they showed pictures there. I believe they are trying to depict where the Americans committed atrocities of killing their soldiers or civilians. To me, that is a typical example of Communist propaganda.

I firmly believe that those people pictured there in that magazine were killed, slain, by the Communists; that they in turn used it as

propaganda saying that the Americans killed them.

As I say, to me that is typical propaganda employed by the Commu-

nist peoples.

The next one, China Monthly Review, December 1951, showing list of prisoners; that one I know I am familiar with, because I was very much concerned at the time it was published to see whether my name was published, or not. And that list does not reflect a true listing of the prisoners at the time in more than one respect.

In the first place, they did not list all the prisoners that they had. Secondly, some of the prisoners that they list there had already died. The Communists were aware of that, yet they released the names knowing full well that those people had died in a POW status.

The third one there, China Monthly Review, August 1951, as I stated before, sir, is typical of Communist propaganda. Well, to me, that is childish, depicting a person like Truman or Atcheson or Dulles the way they do there. To me, I don't know, it is silly; it is simple to do things like that. That is another typical example of the propaganda that they employ amongst their own peoples.

The fifth one there, the China Monthly Review, November 1950, I believe they are depicting there, sir, the peace conference amongst our own prisoners. And that is another example of Chinese propaganda. I firmly believe that all the people there that participated in that type of a rally, well, to begin with, the picture is just a general picture of prisoners. That picture may have been taken under any circumstance, for that matter.

The one above, if it is what I have in mind, all those people were made to attend that, to participate in that type of propaganda, sir. Mr. Carpenter. And those banners you see there were rigged?

Captain Manto. They were made by the Chinese Communists, sir. And the next-to-last there, showing GI's in winter clothing on there and so forth, I would like to point out, sir, that I have firsthand knowledge of that sort of stuff; that the first winter we were captured, the winter of 1950–51, the Chinese Communists didn't care whether the American soldiers lived or died.

These particular pictures shown on the China Monthly Review, that clothing was issued for the winter of 1951-52. Considerable time has lapsed. By that I mean to say that the negotiations had already started and these people had assumed a different attitude.

They just switched over. They made a 180° reverse.

Before, their attitude was "let 'em die." Now they wanted to keep us very much alive, because they had boasted to our Government, they had boasted to the rest of the people in the world that they had captured—well, there was quite a bit of controversy amongst ourselves as prisoners that if all the figures were to be added up on how many prisoners they had captured, I believe in a period of 6 months

the entire population of the United States would have been captured

by these Chinese troops.

And that last one "American POW's demand successful peace talks"; to counteract that, I would like to cite an instance Captain O'Connor brought up, where they wanted to march out and have a peace rally and shout slogans and so forth.

These Communists are great peace fighters, so they say. They have a slogan—which they still do, they had at that time—which they

wanted us to shout. The slogan was "We Want Peace."

Well, we weren't about to shout that because as much as we were prisoners—I would like to bring out now the attitude of the average prisoner in my compound—as much as we were prisoners, the hardships we went through, we were always behind our Government and hoping that they would not give in to these Communists, prolong the war as long as possible, as long as our side fought and got the principles that they were aiming for.

To get back to this slogan of "We Want Peace" we would shout slogans in the confines of our room at night, sir. We would shout:

"We want beef."

The Communists are great slogan shouters. They start anything with shouting slogans, and they terminate it with slogan shouting.

For instance they would say "Long live Stalin, the founder of our native Russia," or some sort of drivel like that; or "Long live the Communist, peace-loving peoples of the world."

It is nothing to them to shout 45 slogans one after the other before

a meeting took place.

Well, we would get up our own slogans. And to get back to these Chinese Communists, we would shout "Long live our long unsinkable aircraft carrier, Great Britain," "Long live the Atcheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe," "Long live Truman"; "If it wasn't for Mao Tse, I wouldn't be lousy."

I don't know if it has been brought out before, but we were plagued with lice over there. It used to be somewhat of a sport sometimes, that we would take off our clothes and hunt for lice, and we would have bets amongst ourselves to see who would collect the most for that particular session.

Contrary to what has been brought out, there was the lighter side to the POW life, and that is one thing that the Communists couldn't understand, the American, his sense of humor, that no matter what

transpired we would get a laugh out of it.

For instance, when one of our boys got caught at something we would laugh about it, "Better deny it" and the Chinese could not under-

stand that and that sort of thing.

Another incident that I would like to bring out, sir, is what I call the toothbrush incident. A British officer wrote home at one time, and in this letter he stated that he was being treated like a dog. The letters were all censored. The Chinese camp commander called this particular British officer here in and questioned him and said "Do you have a dog?" The British officer said "Yes." The officer questioned him and asked "Does your dog have a toothbrush?" and he said "No." He said "Do you have a toothbrush?" The British officer said "Yes." "Well," he said "you are not being treated like a dog."

Mr. Carpenter. Captain, on this list of prisoners of war, was there any reward offered to anyone in order to get on this prisoner-of-war list so that it would be published and gotten back home?

Captain Manto. Was there any reward, sir?

Mr. Carepater. Yes; to the prisoners. Captain Manto. Not to my knowledge; no, sir. Mr. Carpenter. You know nothing about that? Captain Manto. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Captain. Thank you very much.

Mr. Carpenter. Captain Berry.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. WALDRON BERRY, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Captain Berry. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name to the committee? Captain Berry. Waldron Berry.

The Chairman. What branch of the service are you in, Captain? Captain Berry. United States Air Force.

The CHAIRMAN. You are from Seymour, Ind.? Captain Berry. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. You are a neighbor of mine. Captain Berry. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter. How long have you been in the United States forces, Captain?

Captain Berry. A little over 8 years.

Mr. Carpenter. Have you been in the Air Force all that time?

Captain Berry. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARPENTER. Where did you attend school, Captain?

Captain Berry. I graduated from high school in Seymour, Ind., then I attended Purdue University for I year, then I attended West Point for 3 years where I received my bachelor of science degree. am presently attending George Washington University to obtain a master's degree.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you in the Korean war? Captain Berry. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you taken prisoner of war while over in Korea?

Captain Berry. Yes, sir. I was flying missions out of Japan and shot down on the 10th of November of 1950.

Mr. Carpenter. In what sector were you shot down?

Captain Berry. I was shot down near the Yalu, near Nambojin, which is in the northwest central part of Korea.

Mr. Carpenter. Were you shot down by an antiaircraft gun? Captain Berry. Yes, sir.

Mr. Carpenter. Where were those antiaircraft guns located?

Captain Berry. In China, sir. I am one example that I know, of the thing that they were arguing about at that time, in 1950, when General MacArthur was complaining about the fact that we were being shot at from China, yet we could not go across the Yalu River and bomb them back.

Our particular organization was trying to go by this rule, and I—well, I was shot down this day. We changed our bomb run to run northeast and southwest so that we would be careful not to go across the Yalu River, because the village that we were hitting was very near the river, and I was about a mile on the North Korean side of

the river, and the guns were just on the bank of the Chinese mainland, actually Manchuria.

I was hit twice from those guns, and then for several days afterward, when I was locked in a barn and I could hear the large guns continually firing from across the river.

Mr. Carpenter. How long were you a prisoner of war?

Captain Berry. Thirty-three months three weeks three days.

Mr. Carpenter. Captain, this committee is interested to know the treatment you received in the prisoner-of-war camp, especially that part which has to do with the indoctrination you received by your captors, and especially any that you received as a result of reading the China Weekly and later Monthly Review. Would you tell us

about your experiences, please?

Captain Berry. I was in several different places due to the fact that I was in the Air Force. The Air Force didn't seem to be too popular at that time. They moved me around considerably. I was in many unorganized places. I was on this march for about a week; we covered about 110 or 115 miles or so. Most of these villages had political commissars. All their knowledge about America, the United States and the Government, was along the Communist line. That I read later in these magazines here. It was all very anti-United States, and anti-United Nations, and pro-Communist. It had very poor logic behind it.

I was asked these questions. I never gave the proper answers apparently. And I received bad treatment because of that.

This was during the unorganized time. Of course, all my captivity

was unorganized, but this was really unorganized.

I was told by the Chinese the same sort of thing that you have heard today: The South Koreans actually started the war, we were war criminals for entering the war, it was a civil war and it should be allowed to be settled by the Koreans themselves. They wanted the Nationalist troops off Formosa, they wanted the American troops as well as all other U. N. troops to get out of Korea and leave it to the Koreans themselves; generally the same type of things that you hear today.

The information that they started giving us became more organized in Pyoktong, which later became camp No. 5, on the Yalu River, in North Korea. They imported some English-speaking Chinese political instructors and started out on a rather unorganized basis, and it gained a great deal of force. Later on it became a pretty complete

indoctrination that they were giving.

Fortunately, I left Pyoktong in March 1951, March 31, and went to a place that became known as Pock's Palace near Pyongyang. I did not get a great deal of indoctrination there. I mostly worked.

Then I went back to Pyoktong, and they had improved their indoctrination program greatly in that they increased it a lot. We were studying from shortly after we got up in the morning at 5:30

until sometime at night, as a matter of fact, and through the day, except for 2 hours when the Chinese had to sleep. And we would get time out for breakfast and dinner. We weren't eating lunch at the time, and we weren't eating very much breakfast and dinner.

I suppose it would total 8 to 10 hours a day, possibly slightly more

at times.

This went on there and it continued even when we moved to Pen-

chang-li, which later became camp No. 2.

It was very interesting that this indoctrination stopped immediately. It just came to a sudden halt. In my opinion, it was done because about a week later they started having a great propaganda campaign to the fact that we were indoctrinating their prisoners in South Korea, were forcing them to tattoo their bodies with anti-Communist slogans, making them write messages in their own blood, mishandling and beating them and various other things. They said "Look in our camps, we don't indoctrinate our prisoners." Which was right; they just stopped a week before.

I found that out about most of their propaganda, that the thing that they yell about most is the thing they are violating more than anyone else, and they seem to do it to try to take the attention away

from it.

Actually, my attitude toward my time in prison may be a little different than other people's. I had the same sort of things happen; most of my clothes were taken away, I froze my hands and feet and I was sick and they had me down to shoot me and so forth. But I don't feel that that is the important thing that happened to me over there.

The education that I got and the things that I saw are things that shock you a great deal, but they are things that I think it would be impossible to obtain here in the States at any price. So for that reason, I feel that it was an occupational hazard that caught up with me, but I feel it was time well spent, for me, anyway. I am sure a lot of people feel that they wasted their time.

But I only wish that the people here could actually see how treacherous these people can be and how two-faced and how hypocritical

they can be.

I often hear the statement: "Why worry about the London Daily Worker, the New York Daily Worker, the people in the States don't read that stuff, they don't believe it." Which may or may not be true, I don't argue about that. But do the people realize how many Europeans, how many people in the Far East read that paper and

how many of them believe it?

The logic that these orientals use would amaze you. I remember one day relatively early in my captivity we had a dog that came in our compound. Later I ate a little dog and it wasn't too good, but we took care of this one. He was starving too, so were we, and we gave him some of our food and he became a lot fatter than we were. The Chinese noticed our friendliness toward this dog and took him out of the compound, and we heard of couple of yelps and we never saw the dog again. And I can only assume what happened to the dog, because the Chinese eat a great deal of dog meat.

But this happened again. Another dog came in. The word must have gotten around to the dogs, and so this one came in and we started feeding it. It was walking up the path one day and one of the important people in the prison camp kicked the dog, and a major in the United States Army became very indignant with this Chinese, so much so that the Chinese stood him at attention 5 or 6 hours and

then they took him down and put him in jail.

The camp commander was talking to this major, and he said, "Why did you become so perturbed and excited at the fact the dog was kicked?" The major said, "In the United States we don't just go around kicking dogs; we are kind to dumb animals, and especially I like dogs and I couldn't stand by and see the Chinese kick the dog." These were Chinese Communists, of course.

This camp commander came back and said, "Ordinarily in peacetime in China we never kick dogs, either, but this is wartime and

conditions change, we have to sometimes kick dogs."

So what are you going to answer to logic like that? And those are the same people that are reading these articles in all these papers

here, with this China Monthly Review included.

I might go back and say when I first ran into this magazine and I use that term loosely—it was, I think, in the first part of February we were given a mimeographed sheet every so often This was filled with the most incredible stories about the United States and the U. N. and allies that you can imagine. They were very anti-United States, U. N. We were given this mimeographed sheet or two sheets each day, and along with that came this magazine.

Mr. Carpenter. What year was that, Captain?

Captain Berry. That was in 1951, the very early part. I would

say it started in February, when our study program first began.

This was part of the additional material that we were given. recall—I don't know the exact date—but certain articles were marked for our required reading, and our required comments. brought around to our room at that time. That was my first association with this magazine. It was always extremely anti-United States and anti-U. N. and pro-Communist, and like the other people, I actually never gave it a thought that an American was the editor I saw this name and it could have gone as an American name, but I actually ignored it because knowing the tricks that these people would pull I just couldn't have thought less about it.

I am even more surprised when I find that this man is here in the United States at the present time, because I have never seen anything

except incredible lies in that magazine.

We were required to read it, and from that time, February of 1951, I was associated—I would like to retract that. I saw that magazine until the end, with the exception of the 3 months I was away at Pock's Palace. The supply route wasn't too good down there and we missed out on a lot of magazines.

It was used as extra material, comments cited by the Chinese in-There were articles given as our required reading. I used to actually read that once in a while just for laughs, just to see how ridiculous people could get. And it is sort of a twisted sense of humor, I guess, but your humor becomes a little bit twisted over

I can't believe that—maybe I don't know. I thought a great deal about this. I remember reading the Daily Worker, that magazine and the Daily Worker and all these others, Masses and Mainstream, and Political Affairs and all these magazines, and I realize that there is freedom of the press, but I can't understand how they can vilify not only our Congressmen and our high officials, but up to and including the President of the United States, I can't understand that, and I haven't had a cogent explanation since I returned.

I used to see these pictures. Of course, since I am from Indiana, I used to see the Senator's picture in there and I was proud that any Senator was giving the Communists such a hard time, and especially since he was from Indiana. And, of course, I used to boast about it.

And I used to see the Senator's picture, along with Senator Mc-Carthy, Senator Knowland, Senator McCarran, Representative Velde, and people of that type. And I had the opinion—and I think I was joined by many prisoners—that the more adverse publicity that you could receive in that magazine or newspaper the better you apparently were doing back here and the more trouble you were giving to Communists. That was my opinion and I was joined by most people over there, because it is their method to slander anyone that is trying to expose them at all.

That, to me, was the important thing of the prison life over there. I expected the maltreatment and so forth and so on because I felt that I was dealing with uncivilized people. And I felt "Well, I will have to read this now and I can get back, and I am sure something will be done about this when I tell what I have seen and how it affects these people that are uneducated." This is very stupid to many people here in the States, but it isn't to many people there;

they believe it, it is very logical to them.

The CHAIRMAN. We get a lot of the same treatment in this country,

Captain Berry. I don't understand; I am very confused.

But this went on until I received indoctrination from the Communists, the Chinese Communists. I was interrogated by a Russian. saw several Russians. And it is all the same line. These speeches that you hear from the high Communist officials, I heard them from my little platoon leader who can't read his name. He knows the speeches by heart, too. They all memorize them. Whether he can read or not, they will teach him to read the speech and so he memorizes it.

I heard him give the same thing as the top Communist officials give

in our big papers here.

But all these magazines were here. I have seen all these: Outline of Political History of the Americas, by Foster; The American, by Fast; Titan, by Theodore Dreiser.

And there was a book that I am sorry I can't remember the title, which the Communists were really pushing this book a lot. It was

written by Victor Perlo. He wrote that book.

Mr. Carpenter. Was it American Imperialism? Captain Berry. That is it.

Mr. Carpenter. By Victor Perlo.

Captain BERRY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been before this committee.

Captain Berry. They seemed to be pushing that book quite a bit. And, of course, there were a lot of American names that came up in all these articles, and you can always tell, it is a simple thing to figure out who they are for and who they are against. Even the people they are for, even people you might not think are not for them, they will soft-pedal on, say he is doing some good things. The people they are not for they will slander them any way they can do it.

To me, it was far more important than this.

I hope you won't misunderstand. I think this is very terrible, and I feel very sorry for everyone that is suffering and has suffered for it. But it is something in the past, and I hope we can improve it the next time.

But this sort of thing here that I had to read for so long, it isn't in the past, it is right here in front of us. And it breaks my heart to have to sit here and see this stuff still going on around here. I can't—just don't understand, nobody has explained to me about it. I mean, they say, "Well, I guess that is right" but they haven't given me any explanation.

I remember the Rosenberg trial. I thought they would never do anything about that. I listened to that stuff and I read so much about

it that I got so bored I didn't know what to do.

We had a pigpen—it looked good in pictures—that the prisoners had their own pigpen. I won't forget the first one we built, we made it out of rocks.

This is some more Communist logic.

Of course, we didn't have any pigs to put in anyway; I don't know what we built it for.

We said, "You can't put a pigpen right in our own compound with

the sanitation conditions."

Let me digress a little. I had to laugh when in the paper the other day I saw one of these well-known people who had just returned from China who said what a great job they were doing in their fly killing. We had the same thing, 5,000 flies a pack of cigarettes. I almost died from nicotine fits, I always get less than 5,000.

Anyway, we said, "You can't built that thing in the compound with the sanitation conditions." They said, "It is very simple; just get the

rocks and build a wall high enough that the flies can't fly over."

And what are you going to say? You don't know what to say in a

case like that.

That is the logic you run into every day over there. Those are the type of people that are reading all these things and the people that everybody is thinking are doing so well. I don't suppose everybody thinks that. I know I didn't think they were doing so well.

But, incidentally, this is my opinion. It doesn't necessarily reflect the opinion of the United States Air Force. It is just what I sort of

got while I was over there.

Oh, I am sorry, I digressed there. I was telling you about the pigs

and the Rosenberg trial.

We tried to put a humorous twist on all this propaganda if we could. So we had one pig there—this was after we got pigs, things had improved—we named him Elmer Rosenpig.

And it was always a great deal of delight because we killed one pig a week. We had something like 300 people and we got one pig a week,

usually a monster of about 90 pounds.

So we kept sweating out Elmer Rosenpig to see when his turn was going to come, and just like the newspapers, that one kept running

around in the pigpen and was the last one to get killed, but he finally did.

Those that had money in camp—I didn't have money—but they were betting on how the trial would come out and so forth. It is too bad to bet on that sort of thing, but you become so disgusted at the propaganda that you read that I am afraid we did do that.

I feel if I got nothing else, that I know how those people operate. I don't know as much as a lot of people do, but I know a lot of things

that a lot of people don't know because I saw it.

We were able to keep pretty happy. We had a "crazy week" 1 week

that always interested me a lot.

The Chinese, as I say, aren't very smart, I don't think. And we decided we would have this "crazy week" for 1 whole week. We had such things as playing bridge with no cards, playing basketball with no basketball, and things of that type. And it really shook the Chinese up for a couple of days until the informers let them know about what was happening.

We had one boy, a lieutenant in the Navy, that rode a motorcycle around all this time. So they decided to take him to the camp commander. And just as he drove up to the camp commander's door he wrecked his motorcycle. He is a ham actor anyway, and he worked up a few tears and cried over it. So the camp commander told him he

would buy him a new motorcycle. So he left very happy.

And we carried on flying with no airplanes, and that sort of thing. And they preached about discrimination a lot. We had one guy, they shaved his head right down the center. He was the only male that ever attended Vassar, and so he thought that up, and they shaved his head like that, and they brought him in for disrupting things, and he did do that. He said, "I am the last of the Mohicans," incidentally, and he said, "I week every year I celebrate for all my ancestors," or for some reason. They read Howard Fast's book, and so forth, and they didn't believe he was the last of the Mohicans, and so they started to put him in jail.

He told them if they were going to try to practice discrimination on him because he was an Indian they would never forget it. So they let

him go. They let him wear his hair that way.

The Chairman. I want to warn you you are getting close to the province of another Hoosier, Herbert Shriner, Captain. You had better be careful.

Captain Berry. I probably am digressing. But that is about the

extent of that sort of thing.

I certainly wish people could know what I know about these people and these magazines. I studied these things. It is pretty hard on your

nerves, but it is possible.

And I used to study it and try to put quotes together and decide what was happening back there. And I feel that I did to a certain extent. But I certainly learned a lot about it, and to me that was the most important thing that happened to me over there.

And, as I say, I am very sorry about all this; it almost happened to me. And I am especially sorry for the people who were the relatives

of these victims.

And I saw an awful lot of that happen, an awful lot of deaths, and I feel very strongly about some people that have nerve enough to write such lies as appeared in this China Monthly Review, and apparently it

was edited by Mr. John W. Powell. It is incredible that a man, an American citizen, an alleged American citizen, could write things like that concerning prisoners when he knows they are dying right there as high as 30 a day—so I have heard from authoritative sources—and I still don't understand it.

Mr. Carpenter. To prove that his writings in this China Monthly Review were in their corner—that is, the Communist corner—did you ever have them furnish you with any other magazines, say, like the

Reader's Digest?

Captain Berry. No, sir.

We stole a Newsweek one time from the Koreans. That was smuggled into our camp by an American who was out on interrogation. That was probably one of the biggest morale factors we had for several months. No one ever found out about it because I honestly believe that the Koreans were afraid to report the fact that the magazine had been stolen for fear the Chinese would kill the ones responsible, because they certainly weren't above that.

But we saw that.

But that, of course, wasn't general issue. We got nothing like that

on general issue.

We used to try to get quotes out of the Daily Worker and everything, quotes by Mr. Dulles, for example, and the U. S. News & World Report, and everything. But they were clever about the quotes they

took; they could twist a quote around.

But if you got several newspapers like the National Guardian—of course, I subscribed to all of them because I was there—we got the National Guardian, the London Daily Worker, and you put all those quotes together and it is enlightening. You are not supposed to read all those papers at once, but separately; I cheated. I feel they dropped the ball on their propaganda. I don't consider myself an expert, but I wasn't fooled a couple of times on it.

But the thing you have to take under consideration is that there are a lot of people that don't think too much about it, and a lot of stories sound very good to them. Of course, these people are capable of being much cleverer than that. I have seen a lot of that, too, since

I have been back.

Mr. Carpenter. Captain, I understand you were the morale officer in the camp. Will you tell how you kept up the morale of the

prisoners of war?

Captain Berry. I used to have a news-analysis week. I could read anything into it that I wanted to, and any time anybody was feeling low they would come and ask me what I thought of the news. Of course, everything looked very good to me. And I used to have a lot of fun with that. I had my Optimist Club, and I used to run a ticker-tape service up there. It was an imaginary ticker tape; used to have runners sitting up for late flashes, and things of that kind. Of course, I wrote for my hotel reservations 2 years before I got

Of course, I wrote for my hotel reservations 2 years before I got repatriated, to one of the hotels back here, and that drew a laugh. Even the Chinese called me up once, because apparently the informers told them I was doing that. They would ask other prisoners if they were optimistic like I was, then they called me up and asked me what I thought about the war situation, and I told them. They asked me why I felt that way, and I started quoting all these things I had been

reading and they apparently hadn't read themselves, at least without the proper attitude.

So they were pumped up, too.

I tried to keep the morale of the Chinese instructors up, too, when they were down in the dumps a bit.

The Chairman. Did you actually write for a hotel reservation? Captain Berry. Yes, sir.

In January of 1952, when they settled the letterwriting situation down in Panmunion—the Chinese again got ridiculous and they got all the paper they could find. I think they went all over China getting this paper, and they brought in reams of paper, and they said, "Write all the letters you want; we just settled this mail problem." But that time there wasn't anybody to write to; I mean, I had for-

gotten everything.

So I started thinking where was the most expensive, swankiest hotel that I heard of or been to. I decided on the Bel-Air Hotel in Los Angeles. So I wrote them a letter. I had no idea the letter would ever get out. I just did it to buck myself up a little bit. And people laughed at me, of course. And I told them that at the present time my arrival in the States was a little doubtful; I couldn't tell them when I would arrive, but I knew they were very busy, and would they keep me in mind for accommodations; and described the weather over there, how nice it was, 40 below, and so forth.

So, surprisingly enough, this letter got out, and surprisingly

enough, the letter got back. And they said:

Whenever you get out of there, when you finish your full sojourn in North Korea, if you come here, you can stay as long as you want as our guest, and you can have breakfast in bed, try our turquoise swimming pool and you will have Hollywood starlets-

and so forth and so forth.

The Chinese censored this mail, and I could see their eyes dilate and so on. They called me in and I told them what a capitalist pig I really was.

Of course, they didn't like it.

But I went back and stayed there for 10 days, until I built up such a bill even I was scared and left. I was up to 127 pounds, so I had to leave, health conditions and everything else. I put on weight.

I would like to bring that out, as a matter of fact, that the American people back there, they kept the morale very high over there, because in addition to that I started receiving a lot of letters. I mean later I went to the Sands in Las Vegas and to Palm Springs, and other places, receiving invitations here and invitations there, and a lot of strangers wrote me letters.

And I am sure you can't imagine how much that was appreciated by all the prisoners there. And they have never forgotten that from the American people. That was one of the most important things that happened to me, and I think to most of the other prisoners over there.

I am just sorry, if I can't get the point across that I want to, that these same people who were so nice to me-

Mr. Carpenter. Did you have any experience in trying to get let-

ters back to your people in the United States?

Captain Berry. Yes, sir. When I was first shot down I begged these people—I think it was the North Korean Communists—well, it was all the Communists over there. North Korean and Chinese and so forth, and I actually begged them a few weeks to let me write a letter to my parents because at the time I was shot down I told them I wasn't in the war and I wasn't flying at all. And just out of a clear blue sky they got a missing-in-action thing, and I suspected that it would perturb them, and so I wanted to write a letter.

And I asked many times and told them I didn't want to say anything, all I wanted to tell them was that I was alive. And they re-

fused. They wouldn't hear of me writing a letter.

Then later they asked me if I would like to make a broadcast—not a broadcast, but make a recording. They had recording equipment there. But would I like to make a recording home to my parents and tell them that I was all right, that I was being treated well, that I had seen some horrible sights and many innocent Korean women and children bombed and strafed and so forth. I told them that I didn't care to, that my parents were still alive, they could probably stand it a few more months, and I didn't care to make a recording or write at that time.

I really got stubborn. I was working in the kitchen at the time, and they asked me the next night did I want to make a recording. I told them "No, thanks," that I was busy that night. I said "Check with

me later."

So they came back the next night and I was still busy in the kitchen, which was a lie; there was nothing to be busy with in our kitchen.

So finally the third night they came back and I told them I was

still busy, and they never did come back.

So, consequently, my parents never heard from me for a year and 12 days, to be exact. That was the first they heard whether I was dead or alive.

I finally wrote a letter in August and it got home the day before Thanksgiving in 1951, and that was the first that they had heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions, Senator Johnston?

Senator Johnston. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Captain.

Mr. Carrenter. Senator Jenner, we have a letter here from the Department of the Army addressed to you, as the chairman, attention Mr. Colombo, pertaining to table of contents of the China Review and various other magazines which were distributed to parents here in the United States from prisoners of war.

The CHAIRMAN. It may go into the record and become part of the

 ${f record}$

(The material referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 491" and appears below, together with a list of the contents of the volume referred to:)

EXHIBIT No. 491

SEPTEMBER 24, 1954.

Hon. WILLIAM E. JENNER,

Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate.

(Attention: Mr. Louis Colombo.)

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the request of your committee for documents indicating that noncombatant American citizens operating in Communist China or North Korea circularized relatives of American prisoners of war in an effort to undermine American morale, there is forwarded herewith a book of sample

materials which have been received in the United States. Some material has been received from Americans in the United States and some from foreign sources which are not definitely identified as to the nationality of the senders. With the exception of the China Monthly Review, it is not possible clearly to establish that American citizens behind the "bamboo curtain" were engaged in the publication or dissemination of the material enclosed.

Inasmuch as many of the items forwarded represent the only copy available in Army files, it would be appreciated if this material could be returned to this

office after it has served the needs of your committee.

Sincerely yours.

JOHN G. ADAMS, Department Counselor.

EXHIBIT No. 491-B

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. China Monthly Review, January 1952 (John W. Powell, editor and publisher)

1. POW's Thanksgiving, page 70

2. Change in POW's Outlook, page 73

3. Letter to Troops in Korea, page 104 B. The Children of Korea Call to the Women of the World

Women International Democratice Federation Unter den Linden 13, Berlin W8, Germany.

C. Korea—We Accuse!

Report to the Commission of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Korea, May 16 to 27, 1951.

D. American POW's Calling From Korea

Hsinhua (New China) News Agency.

E. Shall Brothers Be

An account, written by American and British prisoners of war, of their treatment in POW camps in Korea. The Chinese Peoples Committee for World Peace, Peking, 1952. Third Edition, August 1952.

F. Out of Their Own Mouths

Revelations and confessions written by American soldiers of torture, rape, arson, looting, and cold-blooded murder of defenseless civilians and prisoners of war in Korea. Red Cross Society of China, Peking, 1952.

G. United Nations POW's in Korea

Published by Chinese Peoples Committee for World Peace Peking. China, 1953. Attached is mimeographed letter from Britain-China Friendship Association, 228 Gray Inn Road, London, W. C. 1.

H. Intercamp Olympies, 1952, Pyuktong, D. P. R. K.

A souvenir at the Intercamp Olympics, 1952, held at Pyoktong, D. P. R. K.

I. National Guardian, May 6, 1951
 K. Sample Contents of Letter sent to Relative of an American POW (4 enclosures)

Card noting SOS meeting
 Mimeographed SOS sheet (2 pages)

3. Letter dated April 17, 1953

4. Joint resolution

L. Sample Contents of Letter Sent to a Relative of an American POW (2 enclosures)

1. Is "Voluntary Repatriation" Right or Wrong?

2. Reproduction of Radio Broadcast Indicates United States Ready to Sacrifice Its Prisoners of War

The Chairman. The committee will stand in recess at this time. Tomorrow afternoon at 2 o'clock we will have an open session. afternoon at 4:30 we will have an executive session.

So until 2 o'clock tomorrow we will stand in recess.

(Whereupon, at 3:35 p. m., Tuesday, September 28, the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 2 p. m., Wednesday, September 29, 1954.)

APPENDIX

Exhibit No. 465

[From the China Weekly Review, March 11, 1950]

CHANGES IN SHANGHAI'S PRESS

NEWSPAPER WORK HAS CONSIDERABLY CHANGED SINCE KUOMINTANG DAYS, WITH THE TREND TOWARD A DIVISION OF LABOR AMONG DAILIES AND THE EMPHASIS ON EDU-CATING READERS

The sharp change in direction taken by China's society following the overthrow of the Kuomintang has an interesting reflection in the newspapers of

anghai. The press may be regarded as a sensitive barometer of the times. Under the Kuomintang, the composition of Shanghai's daily newspapers reflected the stratification of cliques and interests within the Kuomintang and on its fringes.1 The same press following liberation, gives some indication of the various classes and political parties that have combined forces under the new democracy.2

The modern history of the press in China is a mixed one. Ko Kung-chen, in his History of Chinese Journalism (p. 218), writes: "The news reporting in our Chinese press only serves the purpose of filling up space. In reporting an event, an account often appears without proper introduction or ending and conflicts with itself. Sometimes the same event appears in 2 or 3 places on the same day or is repeated in 2 or 3 places without any system. There is a lot of empty verbiage and the reader is not able to get the salient points. The reason for the former is that the reporters have not learned their job but content them-selves with copying releases, while the latter effect is due to the fact that editors do not think for their readers and only want to save trouble. So we often find scores of pages with a lot of words and nothing interesting in them worth reading. This is indeed a pity."

THE SHANGHAI DAILIES

Most writers in this subject agree that the modern press suffered from these Shanghai's newspapers have been plagued by bad editing. They have also been in the grip of irresponsible advertisers, particularly patent-medicine merchants, who have at times had more to say about the makeup of papers than

¹ Shanghai daily press in January 1949:
Shun Pao (KMT supervised, CC clique); Sin Wen Pao (KMT supervised, CC clique);
Ta Kung Pao (independent, political science group); Shang Pao (CC commercial organ);
Ching Yung Chi Pao (connected with political science group); Cheng Yen Pao (Wu Shaohsi, KMT?); Yi Shih Pao (Chinese Catholic organ); Chien Sien Jih Pao (connected with KMT Gen. Ku Chu-tung); Shih Shih Hsin Pao (connected with H. H. Kung); Sin Min, Wan Pao (independent, Government supervised);
Sin Yeh Pao (CC clique); Hwa Mei Wan Pao (connected with KMT publicity board);
Tung Nan Jih Pao (KMT southeast China organ); Ho Ping Jih Pao (KMT army organ).
And a great number of tabloids, some published regularly, others irregularly.
² Shanghai daily press in January 1950:
Giefang Rhbao (Communist Party organ); Ta Kung Pao (edited by Wang Yun-sheng, privately owned); Sin Wen Jih Pao (part Government, part privately owned—reorganized from Sin Wen Pao); Wen Hui Pao (owned by Yen Pao-II); Shang Pao (connected with Federation of Industries and Commerce, privately owned): Sin Min Wan Pao (owned by Teng Chi-hsin, edited by Chao Tsao-kou); Lao Tung Pao (Shanghai General Labor Union); Ching Nien Pao (youth organization of CP). There are still a number of tabloids.

It may be noted that the Wen Hui Pao is sometimes listed as being connected with the Democratic League, and that the Sin Min Wan Pao is also sometimes listed as being connected with the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

nected with the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

the editors.3 And, under the Kuomintang, it was standard practice to carry official Government releases, without acknowledgment, as the only version of the news.

When an effort was made at independent reporting, it was usually on terms of mutual vilification between opposing cliques, and of sensationalism. That the press was a reflection of corrupt and violent times is evidenced by the former

Central News Agency's list of important news events for 1948.4

Another feature of Shanghai's newspapers after V-J Day and prior to liberation was the misuse of official newsprint allocations. It is said, in regard to this: the less the circulation, the greater the profits. For example, while the actual circulation of one particular paper was only 20,000 copies daily, it gave its official circulation as 90,000, and, on the basis of this officially supplied figure. the paper was given a newsprint allocation at the official price for the false 90,000 circulation. Then its publisher sold, on the blackmarket, the surplus newsprint at a profit. Most newspapers are said to have paid their way in this

Shanghai was overstocked with dailies, and their position was none too

At the same time there were numerous tabloids, magazine-sized sheets that

specialized in rumors, gossip, and news that the big dailies did not handle.⁵ In his Press and Public Opinion in China, Lin Yutang wrote: "(Besides the regular press), there is a large number of tabloid papers, called 'mosquito papers' in Chinese, many of which are published every 3 days and fulfill a greatly felt need for social gossip and backstage stories, called into existence on account of the absolute unreadability, degeneration and prostitution of the big dailies."

The writer should also have mentioned that the "mosquito papers" were often published by and served the various feuding groups within the Kuomintang

Party and Nationalist Government.

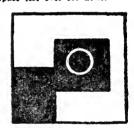
And there are omissions in Lin Yutang's statement regarding the venality of the big dailies. It is not true that the whole press under the Kuomintang was degenerate. Many reporters, correspondents, and editors sought and used every possible opportunity to report the news truthfully and to circumvent the Kuomintang censorship and the reactionary policies of owners.

(3) Vagaries of advertisers in Shun Pao (May 30, 1936)

Black indicates space occupied by advertisements. White indicates space left over for news.



Page 14 Advertisement for "Hormspermin"



Page 13 Advertisement for "Anti-Gonorrhoicum"



Front page

- ⁴Local news item (January 1949).—The Central News Agency has listed the 10 most important news events of Shanghai for the year 1948 as follows (in order of occurrence):

 1. The manhandling of Mayor K. C. Wu by the students of Tungchi University.

 2. The rioting of cabaret hostesses resulting in the wrecking of the Social Affairs Bureau.

3. The rioting at the Sung Sing No. 9 mill. 4. The seventh National Olympics held at

4. The seventh National Olympics held at Shanghai.
5. The trial of Yasutsuga Okamura.
6. The "tiger hunting" campaign led by Chiang Ching-kuo and the resulting buying spree.

7. The general census checkup.

8. The Kiang Ya tragedy resulting in the loss of more than 3,000 lives.

9. The arrival in Shanghai of United States Marines for the protection of American lives and property

The gold-rush tragedy.

⁵ For example, a Tieh Pao (tabloid) report, January 15, 1949. "Yesterday morning, acting on a recent order received from the Ministry of the Interior "Aesterday morning, acting on a recent order received from the Mulstry of the Interior through the Shanghai city government, the police authorities sent a number of constabulary officers to the China Books & Magazine Co. There they seized 2.471 copies of the University Critic (Ta Hsuch Ping Lun) Weekly, a magazine edited by Prof. Liu Pu-tung and published in Nanking, which had been banned by the competent authorities." It was recognized that some reporters wrote stories apparently as the owner and censorship required, but made valiant efforts to get at the truth by sandwiching into the middle of their stories contradictory statements, or opposing points of view. In the handling of overseas news, a method to get at the truth was to print Reuters, AP, APF, and UP reports together, often contradicting one another.

In June, 1947, when throughout China there were student demonstrations against the continuation of the civil war, the Government acknowledged the existence of independent newspapermen by arresting reporters, correspondents and editors wholesale. Thirty-one newspapermen were arrested in Chungking alone. In most big cities, newspapermen were arrested and papers censored or suppressed.

In Shanghai, the Government suppressed the dailies Lien Ho Jih Pao, Wen Hui Pao and Sin Min Wan Pao. The Ta Kung Pao, at this time, was the one paper in Shanghai which, while not expressing the official Kuomintang attitude in

this case, escaped suppression.

Further mention should be made of the Ta Kung Pao (and of its sister editions, at various times published in Tientsin, Chungking, and Hongkong) because it was considered that this paper had a tradition of competent journalism and a certain independence in editorial policy. An article in the Revelation Monthly, Shanghai, January 1949, said: "The Ta Kung Pao pins its hopes on a 'middle course,' on a 'third force' and on the liberal elements in the world, purporting itself to be one of them * * *."

The Ta Kung Pao was also notable for its outspoken opposition to Japanese

militarism and the revival of Japan.

However, while the Ta Kung Pao claimed to represent "third force" elements, it was essentially linked with the interests of the Kuomintang, its policies being determined by Wu Ting-chang of the Political Science Group, and his representatives.

Prior to liberation, there were four English-language dailies in Shanghai, among a number of other papers which served the various groups of foreign nationals. Although these papers do not come within the scope of this article, it is interesting to note that two of the English-language papers were owned by Kuomintang interests.

Since liberation, the assets of the two Kuomintang-connected papers have been confiscated; the Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury has closed down; and the North China Daily News has continued publication.

A CHANGE IN COMPOSITION

When the changeover came in Shanghai, in May 1949, many dailies went out of existence, a few continued, and several new publications appeared. The new publications were those of the Communist Party, trade union, student, and youth

groups.

The Ta Kung Pao continued publication. On January 7 one of the paper's major stockholders, Wu Ting-chang, who was connected with the Political Science Group within the Kuomintang, had resigned from the board of directors. The Sin Min Wan Pao was carried on by its staff after its KMT supervisors had fled. As it happened, several editors who had close KMT connections either fled from Shaughai o: resigned from their positions. But in those papers which carried on, the majority of the staff remained as before and previous positions were held except for some alterations at higher editorial levels.

Soon after liberation the new authorities took steps to confiscate all assets in the newspaper business which had belonged to the Knomintang Party and Government and to the "four big families" such as the Kungs. A cultural and educational committee, comprising five members, investigated KMT holdings and

then administered them.

The Giefang Rhbao (Liberation Daily), the Communist Party's Shanghai organ, began publication on the old Shun Pao press. The Sin Wen Jih Pao was reorganized from the Sin Wen Pao.

Although there was a sharp change in the composition and direction of the daily press after liberation, the implementation of this change in detail has

⁶ The four English-language papers were: Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury (C. V. Starr interests, American); North China Daily News (Morris family, British); China Press (owned largely by H. H. Kung); and China Daily Tribune (owned by the Nationalist Government).

been applied rather gradually. This is notable in the training of new journalists. There has been a shortage of journalists who could cope with the political demands of the new situation. But, up to this time, the schools of journalism in the universities of Shanghai are as before, the old teachers and professors remaining. No direct effort has been made by the authorities to alter the situation. Any change in the nature of journalism courses, any discrimination against professors, is being left to the students and university staffs, those directly concerned. However, there is a school of journalism in the East China University, the new, politically orientated university that has been established by the Government.

NUMEROUS SHORTAGES

Following liberation, all newspapers faced many problems and shortages. There was a shortage of suitable personnel. There have been serious shortages of capital and newsprint. Nearly all dailies consider that, with bigger newsprint stocks to draw on, they could increase production considerably. Available machinery is said to be in good condition, but there are still various technical difficulties. One mentioned is that, to conserve diesel oil, coal is being used in mat making, and its uneven heating power resolts in inferior quality blocks. But the shortage of newsprint remains the gravest of problems.

Other headaches are the established agencies for the handling of advertising and distribution. For many years, these sections of the newspaper business in Shanghai have been the source of income and squeeze for big agents, middle agents, small agents, subagents, and sundry hangers-on. They have been major commercial enterprises on their own, fattening off the publishers. They still exist. It is said that it would be possible to dispense with them at one stroke and to introduce more rational systems in these departments; but that this would be an irresponsible gesture at the present stage. Too many people would be thrown out of work and on to the Government relief rolls. The changes in the systems of advertising and of distribution must come about gradually.

With all these problems, the circulation figures of the leading dailies are at least as high as those of the biggest preliberation dailies. But the figures given are not official or authenticated. The most popular estimations give the Sin Wen Jih Pao a circulation of about 140,000, with the Giefang Rhbao slightly less. Reasons given for the lead held by the Sin Wen Jih Pao are: It carries the most classified advertisements, help wanted, for sale, and wanted-to-buy items; it has the most hsien (county) news from Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces; it has more "human interest" news.

Every daily is trying to increase its circulation, particularly through mass selling to organizations. But the tendency, nevertheless, is against interpaper competition for readers.

A DIVISION OF LABOR

The main trend in the new press of Shanghai is towards a division of labor rather than competition. The Shang Pao is the industrialists' paper; the Ta Kung Pao appeals especially to professional people and older intellectuals; the Giefang Rhbao is for the more politically advanced; the Sin Wen Jih Pao is for the trade groups, housewives, etc.; the Wen Hui Pao is aimed at the students; and there is the trade unions' Lao Tung Pao, and the youth group's Ching Nien Pao. The "mosquito papers" which remain seem to choose the tactics that suit them best.

There are considerable differences between the papers. Taking its particular readers into account, the Sin Weh Jih Pao is produced in a simple, newsy, readable style in the usual sense of the word. The Giefang Rhbao is more concerned with advanced political interpretations, expecting readers to graduate to it from other papers. The Ta Kung Pao. especially in its fuller Saturday and Sunday editions, has large magazine sections dealing with foreign affairs,

^{7.}A recent item from the Hsiao Pao (tabloid):
"American residents in Shanghai have not as yet been evacuated. Such members of the
American community as Franklin (former chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council and
chairman of the American Residents' Association), Allman (former publisher of the Shun
Pao), and Bryan (longtime senior municipal advocate of the SMC, and man who transcribed
the Chinese Four Books) are living in Shanghai and as secure as the Rock of Gibraltar.
They obey the laws and orders of the People's Government, and have not considered at all
preparations to leave the city."

the arts and social sciences, while not neglecting, as the evidence indicates, the more businesslike interests of its intellectual clientele.8

There are differences, but the daily papers now have a common direction and

there is considerable understanding between them.

The point is made that there are still class divisions under the new democracy, and various political parties; but that all these parties are united on the basis of the common program of the People's l'olitical Consultative Conference, the guiding program for China in this era. This program, and the principles and policies it enunciates, determine the editorial policies of Shanghai's daily newspapers.

ORGANIZATION OF A NEWSPAPER

On the typical newspaper now, the editor is the highest authority. The editor decides policy, although there are regular conferences of department chiefs. Reporters are expected to play a new role and their responsibilities have increased. It is said that the emphasis of responsibility, in comparison with American dailies, is shifting from the editorial to the reporting staff.

On the Sin Wen Jih Pao, which is a morning paper, the day's work is organized thus: The chief reporter (also the city editor) assigns the total of about 30 reporters for the day's work. Throughout the day they keep in touch with the city desk. In the evening they write up their copy, and it goes before a meeting of reporting and editorial staffs together. This meeting decides what to use,

how much to use, and what should be emphasized.

Each newspaper plans its own work, but all are expected to assume great responsibilities toward the public and to stay within certain bounds. An example is given in the handling of the story of a People's Bank official who was found guilty of corruption. The press was expected to treat this case, with all news in general, as an opportunity to educate the public as well as the people concerned in the case. There was no rushing into print with condemnations and sensational revelations. The press was expected to consider the consequences of its reports, to check all facts carefully, to delay until there was full confirmation, and then to treat the news so as not to prejudice the guilty person in his attempts at reformation, while warning the public to be on guard against further cases of corruption. More than this, the press was expected to explain the social sources and cause of corruption in this case, as in others like it, and show how corruption can be overcome.

[Percent]

	Sin Wen	Ta Kung	Giefang
	Jih Pao	Pao	Rhbao
Vews: All China	8.7	9. 3 2. 4 10 9. 8 12. 5 3. 5 21 3. 4 2	9.7 • 6.8 12 6.5 8.7 • 26.6 8

[•] The heading "Provincial news" in the case of the Giefang Rhbao should more correctly be "East China news," referring to news items and reports concerning the whole administrative district of 6 Provinces. "Provincial news" for the other 2 papers refers to news from local sources in Kiangsu and Cheklang.

b It is a special feature of the Sin Wen Jih Pao that it carries a large number of classified advertisements

• The Giefang Rhbao carries a considerable amount of official documents and proclamations which are here classified under "Articles."

⁸The following table is an analysis of the contents of Shanghai's three leading daily newspapers, the Sin Wen Jih Pao, Giefang Rhbao, and Ta Kung Pao, based upon weekday issues for the last week in January 1940. The percentages given under the various headings are based upon square inches of column space given to items which fell under these headings. Every item in the issues chosen was listed under one of these headings. The issues were all six-page editions, varying little in overall size.

AMATEURS AND PROFESSIONALS

The direction of the press is now to educate, or, as the familiar phrase has

it, "serve the people."

To insure that the press shall be popular, the aim is to develop and recruit large numbers of worker correspondents. The Sin Wen Jih Pao, for example, is said to have some 200 correspondents throughout Kiangsu and Chekiang, and 300 in schools, factories, and institutions in Shanghai. On big news events such as the sale of Victory bonds, the Sin Wen Jih Pao has reports coming in from many centers in the Provinces and Shanghai. Practically, it is a sound method for insuring a fuller coverage of the news. And great political importance is attached to this system, and it is being extended.

The amateur correspondents are paid for their stories which are brushed up or rewritten by the paper's editorial staff. In centers where literacy is increasing it has not been so difficult to find correspondents, but it is thought that until the working people are more fully organized they will not understand completely how they can use the press to bring forward new ideas, and express their problems and criticisms. With this handicap, and with the enormous problem of

illiteracy, progress is expected to be slow.

The work of editors and reporters is not lessened by this development. They have more work to do, and they have the problem of orientating themselves to the new situation. In the past there was strict competition for news. Now there is a different attitude. In Peking, it is said, a paper may even hand over a news item to another journal which may be able to use the item more profitably. In Shanghai there is no sharing as yet, but within the dailies there is less competition between reporters.

However, it has been noticeable in the field of military news in particular that some papers are regularly ahead on reports of Liberation Army advances. The Giefang Rhbao is often behind. The fall of Kunming last year was a case in point. There is said to have been some debate on when to announce the fall of this city, reports being somewhat indefinite. Some considered it more important to establish the fact that the city was liberated rather than to rush into print on

the subject.

A new attitude to newspaper work is developing in Shanghai. At least the days are passing when journalists used the news, especially international news, for speculating. The newspaper of the dailies no longer think as much about, the

stock market as their daily editions.

Newspapermen, it is said find life changed in these ways: the coming of hsuch hsi (the voluntary political study circles common in most organizations), and more criticism, more work and more meetings. Like the worker, the main task set the intellectual is increased production.

FUTURE OF THE PRESS

The main direction of the daily press under the new democracy has been laid down in Shanghai. But the permanent pattern may finally approach the situa-

tion of the press in the northeast, China's most advanced area.

In the northeast, the Dungbei Rhbao (Northeast Daily) is the leading daily with an estimated circulation of 250,000, the largest in China. This daily covers all six Provinces of the northeast and carries official statements, policy decisions, results of conference discussions and important documents. But for each Province and for each big town there is at least one subsidiary paper carrying local news and features in the common newspaper style.

Shanghai's Giefang Rhbao may finally do a similar job for the East China regional group of six Provinces as the Dungbei Rhbao does for the northeast, carrying documents, official statements and political articles. Other papers will then be freed to cater to their special sections of the reading public and to

develop their own style and emphasis.

In whatever form, the press will continue to be a reflection of the times in the new China and, more significantly, an extremely important medium of public education.—ALUN FALCONER.

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

In liberated China, national and foreign news is handled by the New China News Agency, which operates as a unit of the press administration of the Central People's Government in Peking. It exercises the dual function of distributing news within China and reporting on domestic developments for consumption abroad.

Within China, its news file consists primarily of domestic news of national interest plus foreign news gleaned from its own correspondents abroad or quoted from Tass and other foreign news agency dispatches. Abroad, it is at present the main source of news from China.

The NCNA has 6 main offices and 46 branch offices in China, and 5 offices overseas (Hong Kong, London, Prague, Moscow, and Pyengyang, North Korea).

In next week's issue of the Review, there will be an article on the history,

present organization, and problems of the NCNA.

EXHIBIT No. 468

[From the China Weekly Review, March 18, 1950]

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY—YENAN TO PEKING

FOUNDED IN YENAN IN 1936 AS A MIMEOGRAPHED NEWS SHEET, THE NONA TODAY IS THE OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY FOR CHINA, WITH OFFICES HERE AND ABROAD

During the days of the Nationalist Government the main news-gathering agency in China was the official Central News Agency, which supplied papers with both domestic and foreign news. In a few large cities such as Shanghai, papers also subscribed to the services of foreign news agencies—the Associated Press, United Press, Reuters, Agence France Presse, etc.—printing their domestic coverage of China as well as their dispatches from abroad.

Since liberation, the task of distributing both national and foreign news has been assumed by the New China News Agency, which operates as a unit of the Press Administration of the Central People's Government in Peking.

The NCNA has 6 main offices and 46 branch offices in China and 5 offices overseas (Hong Kong, London, Prague, Moscow, and Phyongyang, North Korea). Through this network it exercises the dual function of distributing news within

China and reporting on domestic devolopments for consumption abroad.

Within China, its news file consists primarily of domestic news of national interest plus foreign news gleaned from its own correspondents abroad or quoted from Tass and other foreign news agency dispatches. Abroad, it is at present the main source of news from China, since the only correspondents who are permitted to work in China are those who represent newspapers or news agencies in countries which have recognized the People's Government.

STARTED IN YENAN

The New China News Agency has had a parallel growth with the revolutionary war waged by the Chinese Communist Party, under whose leadership it began.

Founded in Yenan in 1936, it first appeared as a mimeographed newssheet containing news broadcasts monitored from the news agencies of Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, as well as the KMT Central News Agency. It was on this newssheet that the isolated bases of the Chinese Communist Party depended for information of the outside world.

In 1937-38, the NCNA served as a forwarding post of party directives to Communist bases behind the Japanese lines. It also handled the exchange of messages among the bases.

In May 1945 the NCNA undertook the operation of a newspaper—the Liberation Daily—which subsequently enlarged the scope of its news coverage. It then had three branch offices-in northwest Shansi Province, Taihang, in Hopeh Province, and in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh border area. It covered mainly news of guerrilla warfare behind the Japanese lines. News broadcasts intercepted from abroad and from the Central News Agency were supplied to the Liberation Daily and to the branch offices for reference.

During the 1946 political consultative conference in Chungking, the NCNA was enlarged to cope with the rapid political and military developments, and it began to challenge the Central News Agency in the national field. By this time, the Liberation Daily and its sister paper in Chungking, the Hsin Hua Daily, were being separately operated.

In March 1947, however, when KMT forces under the command of Hu Tsungnan attacked Yenan, the NCNA was forced to move successively to the Shansi-Sniynan, Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh, and Taihang border areas. A year later, with the launching of the Communist counteroffensive, the agency moved back to Pingshan in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh border area. After Peking's liberation it established itself in that city.

PRESS AND RADIO

Until comparatively recently, the New China News Agency acted not only as a news agency but also had newspaper publishing and broadcasting responsibilities. With the rapid liberation of vast areas of China and the formation of the Central People's Government, it was relieved of these additional functions,

Official Communist Party newspapers now operate alongside privately owned papers in each of the major cities (People's Daily in Peking, Liberation Daily in Shanghai, etc.). Until last December they were subsidized by the government. A meeting of the State Administration Council in December, however, decided to put these newspapers on a self-supporting basis. The council declared that (1) official newspapers must not be sold at a price lower than the cost price of the newsprint (the papers had been sold more cheaply in rural districts than in the cities); (2) domestic newsprint is to be used in place of imported newsprint wherever possible; (3) contracts should be signed with the post office for the circulation of the papers, and the special subscription rate for group subscribers should be not less than 70 percent of the ordinary price; (4) papers may take commercial advertisements, but their contents must be approved and the advertising space limited.

The council appointed a special body charged with the responsibility of supervising the production of domestic newsprint, setting import quotas for newsprint, and rationing imported newsprint. This body is made up of representatives from the Ministries of Finance, Trade, Light Industries, and Education, Customs, and the Press and Publications Administrations. Its chairman is Vice Premier Iluang Yen-pei, and its vice chairman, Fan Chang-kiang, Deputy Director of the

Press Administration.

Radio broadcasting now is directed by a special committee of the Press Administration which exercises supervision over some 49 Government broadcasting stations. There are also some 30 commercial broadcasting stations, most of them centered in Shangbai.

DIRECTED BY COMMITTEE

The New China News Agency itself is directed by a 17-man committee headed by Chen Ke-han. Until December, the agency had been directed by Hu Chiao-mu, now director of the Press Administration. Its vice director was Fan Changhiang, now deputy director of the Press Administration. Under the executive committee are editorial and administrative departments.

NCNA's six main offices are located in each of the administrative areas of China—the northeast, north China, the northwest, central China, and east China. There is also a main office in Shantung Province. Branch offices exist in each

Province and in each field army headquarters.

The average volume of messages, both incoming and outgoing, handled by the agency amounts to between 19,000 and 21,000 words daily. The overseas file is

about 4,000 words daily.

The New China News Agency is not noted for its speed, since its stories are carefully verified before being released. Its reports of military developments, for example, invariably are slower than the nonofficial reports published in the Chinese press. Perhaps its record for fast handling of a story was its report on the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid which was carried on February 14, the same day the treaty was signed.

Among the problems faced by the New China News Agency, as well as the official newspapers and broadcasting stations, is a shortage of trained personnel. Last October the NCNA organized a journalists' training class in Peking. In December, this class was enlarged to become a journalists' school under the supervision of the Press Administration. Its principal is the Press Administration's deputy director Fan Chang-kiang. The school has a present enrollment of 285 students, many of them former staff members of the old Central News Agency and other KMT press organs who are going through a process of reducation. The first group of graduates is scheduled for May of this year.—Yu WAII.

Ехипвіт Хо. 469

CHINA WEEKLY (MONTHLY) REVIEW ADVERTISERS

JOHN B. POWELL, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, MARCH 8, 1947

The China Mercantile Co., Ltd. Globe Wireless, Ltd. Philippine Airlines The Texas Co. (China), Ltd. F. Hoffman-La Roche & Co., Ltd. A. D. K. Raincoats Sun Ya Restaurant Pacific Import & Export Trading Co. RCA Communications, Inc. Connell Bros. Co., Ltd. Middard Publishing Co. Oversea-Chinese Banking Corp., Ltd. Standard Vacuum Oil Co. (Mobiligas-Mobiloil) Greys (cigarettes) The National City Bank of New York The Chase Bank China Orthopedic Industry The Pincomb Chemical Co. Jimmy's Restaurant FESCO Office and House Cleaning Contractors The Shanghai Fountain Pen Co. China Clock & Watch Works, Ltd. Central Air Transport Corp. Nanking-Shanghai Railway System Administration Total, 24 advertisers.

JOHN W. POWELL, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, JANUARY 17, 1948

The China Mercantile Co., Ltd. F. Hoffman-La Roche & Co., Ltd. The Shanghai Fountain Pen Co. Philippine Airlines, Inc. Central Air Transport Corp. Globe Wireless, Ltd. Whiteaways Connell Bros. Co., Ltd. One Giant Necktie Factory The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury Pan American World Airways China Clock & Watch Works, Ltd. Sun Ya Restaurant The Mow Hua Commercial Bank, Ltd. The National City Bank of New York The Chase Bank American Asiatic Underwriters FESCO Vitaminerals Co. Lien Mei Corp., Ltd. The Central Trust of China Jimmy's Restaurant China Orthopedic Industry Shanghai Power Co. Seneca Export Corp. Cafe Federal The Texas Co. (China), Ltd. Standard-Vacuum Oil Co. Total, 28 advertisers.

JOHN W. POWELL, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, SEPTEMBER 10, 1949

Indian Provision F. Hoffmann-La Roche Co., Ltd. American Asiatic Underwriters Total, 3 advertisers.

JOHN W. POWELL, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, SEPTEMBER 1950 (FIRST MONTHLY REVIEW)

National Guardian Total, 1 advertiser.

JOHN W. POWELL, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, JULY 1953

Crossroads (Progressive Newsweekly) Yo Banfa! by Rewi Alley Total, 2 advertisers.

EXHIBIT No. 470

COMMUNIST AND PRO-COMMUNIST WRITERS APPEARING IN THE CHINA WEEKLY (MONTHLY) REVIEW

September 3, 1949, pages 19, 20, and 21: Behind the Ivy Curtain, by Samuel Sillen, reprinted from Masses and Main Stream.1

September 10, 1949, page 23: Comments From Communist China: The Real

Nature of the Revolution, an uncensored dispatch by Andrew Roth.² September 24, 1949, page 27: Article by Hugh Deane,² People's Theatre in Japan. February 1952, pages 174-177; Excerpts from Wilfred Burchett, of the Com-

munist Ce Soir, and Alan Winnington, of the London Daily Worker.

May 1953, page 3: Letter from Steve Nelson * * * "who was sentenced to 20 years in a common workhouse under the State Sedition Act in Pennsylvania. Mr. Nelson * * * is a leader of the Communist Party in that State—editor." October 29, 1949, page 134: Reprint of article by William Mandel * * * entitled "Outer Mongolia's Five-Year Plan," from Far Eastern Survey (IPR).

July 1953, pages 68-78: William Hinton * * *. Article entitled "The Old Border Region.

January 1952, pages 36-41: By Israel Epstein * * *. entitled "Fooling the People."

Exhibit No. 473

AMERICAN COMMUNIST TRIAL

REACTION REACHES NEW PEAK IN AMERICA AS UNITED STATES COMMUNIST LEADERS ARE FINED, JAILED IN WHAT WRITER TERMS UNFAIR TRIAL. AMERICA SEEN MOVING TOWARD FASCISM

Since the end of the war, America has been hit by a wave of reaction. Labor union leaders, Government employees, university teachers, and others have been subjected to an ideological cleansing in the form of loyalty oaths, investigations, purges, and various restrictions.

The domestic reaction reached a new peak the middle of last month, when 11 leaders of the American Communist Party were sentenced to from 3 to 5 years in prison and fined \$10,000 each for teaching and advocating a doctrine that, it was charged, supported the overthrow and destruction of the United States Government by force. If this verdict is upheld by the higher courts, it is generally assumed that it will lead to the outlawing of the Communist Party in America and increased restrictions on all nonconformist political thought.

11 DEFENDANTS

The 11 defendants included Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the American Communist Party; Henry Winston, the party's organizing secretary, a Negro;

¹ Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

² Identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimeny. * Invoked the fifth amendment as to Communist affiliations.

John Williamson, party labor secretary; James Stachel, party educational director; Robert Thompson, New York State party chairman; Gilbert Green, Illinois State party chairman; Gus Hall, Ohio State party chairman; John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, the party's newspaper; Irving Potash, vice president of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union, CIO; and Benjamin Davis, member of the New York City council, a Negro; William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, was also indicted, but his trial was postponed because he is suffering from heart trouble.

The defendants were indicted under a section of the Smith Act, passed in 1940 and aimed at allegedly subversive groups. Yet, in the 8 years since it was enacted, this law has failed to clamp down on such native Fascist organizations as the anti-Negro Ku Klux Klan and the many anti-Semitic hate groups. During the war itself, the isolationist Chicago Tribune printed a story which revealed that the Japanese code system had been broken. Although the printing of this news without permission from the War Department gave the Japanese a chance to revise their codes and might, by a not too lengthly stretch of the imagination, have been considered subversive in a nation at war, the Smith Act was not used against the Tribune's publisher, Col. Robert McCormick. Nor until now has it been invoked against the Communists.

Yet much has been written in America about the legal processes at work. The fact that a trial has been held, that it lasted for 9 months and that the defendants were legally found guilty seems to have satisfied many people who forget that Tom Mooney, the west coast labor leader, was legally tried on framed charges and jailed for 20 years before a pardon was grudgingly given in an attempt to wipe away the injustice. Two Italian immigrant workingmen, Sacco and Vanzetti, faced a hostile judge and were legally sentenced and then executed while people all over the world protested, and books and papers have since

been written exonerating them from the trumped-up charges.

It has even been contended that the results of the trial should not prevent the American Communist Party from continuing. The New York Herald Tribune stated: "Off-hand there seems no reason why the party should not continue, provided that its leadership abandons the Communist tactic of violence and confines itself to advocating Marxist doctrine by the normal methods of the democratic market place of ideas. But if it does not, then every Communist Party member would seem to be open to indictment * * *. This line of reasoning is hard to follow, since the leaders of the Communist Party have been convicted, not because of anything they have done, but because Marxist doctrine itself, in its analysis of social development, declares that revolution is inevitable in relation to definite historical circumstances. To satisfy the New York Herald Tribune and the court in New York the American Communist Party would have to deny Marx.

ANTAGONISTIC PRESS

The press critized the conduct of this bitter trial only as it reflected on the Communist defendants and their attorneys. Reams of newsprint have been devoted to what the papers declared were the attempts of the Communists to make a farce of the proceedings by their aggressive actions, shouting, refusal to answer questions, and general attitude. Five of the defense lawyers and Eugene Dennis, who acted in his own defense, were convicted of contempt of court and sentenced to from 30 days to 6 months in prison.

Yet a Cuban Catholic lawyer who observed the trial as a delegate from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers noted in his official report to that organization, "Judge Medina refuses to see that the motions he denies, the objections he overrules, and the petitions for reversion he refuses to grant arise from the intrinsic needs of the defense in view of the bias and sophisms prevalent in the courtroom, and of the partiality and the arbitrariness with which he

conducts the case."

This lawyer, Domingo Villamil, summed up his observations by declaring, "After having seen and heard all I heard and saw in that courtroom, it is my conviction that the trial is being conducted most unfairly; that there are two prosecutors and no judge at all in that trial—Judge Medina, not a good man, being the most formidable of the two. * * * What Judge Medina is doing in his courtroom has nothing to do with justice * * *. It sickens the heart and worries the mind of any intelligent and upright man."

One of the many incidents that took place during the trial was the refusal of John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, to give evidence against his comrades. He told the court: "If I behave like an ordinary stoolpigeon and tell you what

you want to hear I will lose all my standing with my comrades, the working class, the public, and the jury." Following this Judge Medina ordered Gates to reply and when he refused Medina fined him for contempt of court. Then Gates and two of the other defendants who had protested were taken out of the courtroom handcuffed. Henry Wallace commented on this action: "Judge Medina's decision to imprison them for contempt has a deep effect on the political freedom of the American people. Under the protection of an anticommunism crusade, the United States is running with astonishing speed toward fascism of a native brand."

MANY PROTESTS FILED

Many other protests were filed upon the conclusion of the trial. Indiana State Judge Norval Harris, chairman of the newly founded national nonpartisan Committee To Protect the Rights of the Communist Leaders, stated that the entire trial violated the rights of the defendants provided for by the Constitution. "It would have been a real miracle if the defendants were acquitted in view of the specially selected biased jurors, prejudiced judge, greatly hostile prosecution, and witnesses which included a great number of intelligence agents," he declared.

Paul Robeson, famous Negro singer who has been given the Red smear because of his constant fight for civil liberties and improvement of the lot of the American Negro, predicted that the date of the verdict, October 14, will become the anniversary of a thousand times the Peekskill atrocity. Peekskill is a small town in upper New York State where a band of hooligans wrecked a meeting where Robeson was to sing. "The verdict," Robeson continued, "clearly points out that every American citizen is in danger of meeting large-scale Fascist atrocities. All the American people must unite and fight for the release of the Communist Party members from prison. * * * This is a turning point in American history and

the American people must turn back the tide toward fascism."

Throughout the country demonstrations have been held protesting the convictions. In Los Angles, delegates to the Pacific coast conference of the American Jewish Congress voted to request the national leadership of the organization to demand that the Communist Party leaders be released on bail and take court action to challenge the constitutionality of the Smith Act under which they were indicted. In Chicago, CIO and AFL trade-union leaders, declaring that the next attack would be on the trade-union movement, formed a trade-union committee for political freedom to carry the struggle for the freedom of the Communist Party leaders throughout the Midwest. In Ohio, 20 Cleveland organizations held an emergency conference which decided that it was imperative to reverse the verdict against the 11 Communist leaders. A picket demonstration was held in St. Louis, and in New York's Harlem district thousands attended an outdoor mass meeting held in the pouring rain. Twelve hundred persons went to Washington under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress to petition the United States Attorney General to release the Communist leaders under bail, and a number of prominent artists, writers, and educators addressed a similar request in writing to the Attorney General.

The noted Negro historian, William Dubois, declared: "Nothing In my life has so shaken my belief in American democracy as the trial and conviction of the Communist Party leaders. Maybe the trial was conducted legally, but if that is so then our whole judicial system is rotten. I cannot conceive anything more unfair and unjust than the conduct of this trial. It marks the nadir of our hysteria and the determination to throttle free speech and make honest thinking

impossible.

The verdict is in, but under American law it is not yet final. Appeals will be made and in all probability the Supreme Court will be called upon to give a decision as to its constitutionality. Meanwhile, the Communist Party has announced that, in addition to filing appeals, "basically speaking we hereby present our case to the Supreme Court of the American people. We are confident that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are not United States dollars or English pounds. They cannot be devalued just as ideas and beliefs cannot be confined."

KNOCK AT THE DOOR

Those Americans who have been saying that it can't happen here should now recognize the knock of fascism at the door. They might do well to remember that Adolf Hitler began his destruction of German bourgeois democracy by doing away with segments of civil liberties. The Communists were the first to go, followed by trade unions, minority parties and progressives of all types.

The Communist trial is another step in the steady march toward the stage where those who merely antagonize the authorities, who do nothing save dissent

from official policy, may be similarly harassed and convicted.

Since the end of the war, America has seen the hasty end of price controls, passage of the Taft-Hartley bill, which nullified most of the gains which labor had made during the Roosevelt era, and the witch-hunting rampage of the House Un-American Activities Committee. All this went hand in hand with an American foreign policy which has bolstered reaction and feudalism abroad.

PART OF DELIBERATE PLAN

The trial of American Communists is no bolt from the blue. It is part of a deliberate plan on the part of the extreme right wing of big business, allied with the newly and arrogantly powerful military clique, to throttle all opposition to their complete control.

These men appear to have forgotten American history. The United States was founded on the solid ground laid out by such revolutionaries as Paine and Jefferson and, later, Jackson and Lincoln. Lincoln, often considered the greatest of all American presidents, even advocated the right to revolution. Nearly 100 years

ago he declared:

"Any people anywhere inclined and having the power have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

TREASONABLE VIEW

Judge Medina, and those whose views he expresses, would undoubtedly term such a statement treasonable. They would also be inclined to take exception to, and perhaps even declare unconstitutional that section of the Declaration of Independence which refers to the right of the people to change their form of government.

The true guardians of American democracy are not those who would drum out of existence the basic rights on which the Nation was founded and who dream of an "American century." They are the people who are standing up in New York, Chicago, and other cities throughout the country to protest the antidemocratic and un-American actions being perpetrated by the reactionaries.—Alec Stock.

EXHIBIT No. 474

THE CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN

PEACE AND DEMOCRACY, THE STATUS OF WOMEN, AND CHILD CARE ARE ITS CONCERNS AS IT JOINS FORCES WITH OTHER WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Three and a half years ago, in November 1945, there gathered together in Paris a group of women from 41 countries of the world to form a new organization, the Women's International Democratic Federation, to insure that the horrors of war and fascism through which so many of them had recently passed could never recur. Four hundred delegates were there, and among them were 13 women from the United States.

The 13 American women came back from Paris fired with the spirit of their sisters of Europe, Africa, and Asia and at a meeting held on March 8, 1946, they, together with other women to whom they brought the message of Paris, organized the Congress of American Women.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

The present national officers of the CAW are: Dr. Gene Weltfish, honorary president; Muriel Draper, president; Pearl Law, executive vice president; Stella B. Allen, executive secretary; Harriet Black, treasurer; Marie Kovarco, recording secretary; Betty Millard, secretary to WIDF.

The work of CAW has been within the framework of the three commissions laid down at the founding convention of the federation: the Peace and Democracy, Status of Women, and Child Care Commissions. In these terms was launched a new stage in the age-old struggle for the emancipation of women.

Heretofore, women have attacked the problem from only one of a number of

possible standpoints: the right to schooling, the promotion of cultural knowledge, the right to the franchise, health and welfare, the consumer angle—depending upon which they thought to have the greater priority. But CAW has begun to face the problem in its total complexity and has been developing lines of action simultaneously and on all fronts.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Of the three commissions, many have chosen the most active, the Peace and Democracy Commission, in which the political scene is evaluated and political action taken, and this has been consistently true until the present day. This is in direct contradistinction to other women's organizations since the day of the suffrage fight—which have worked on the assumption that political activity was uncongenial to women. By this token our membership has sensed the fundamental fact that until there is full political participation, women will be lacking in the power to achieve their own emancipation.

Of the other two commissions, the Status of Women, covering both their legal and economic status, and the Child Care Commission, there has been a demand for somewhat different kinds of activity. In these fields it would appear that on a national level the preparation of information bulletins and the calling of joint conferences with other organizations working in the field have up to now been the most fruitful type of action. However, various chapters have functioned far more actively, even militantly, in these same areas of our work.

To further detail the various aspects of our work, the following have been some of our accomplishments. We have taken actions against the ever increasing civil rights attacks, against rising prices, wretched housing conditions for many, memployment and attacks on labor, and the organically connected questions of increasing militarization. We have been particularly concerned with our foreign policy, designed to bring about economic and social domination in all parts of the world through a combination of military and commercial actions. We have organized delegations to Washington on housing, high prices, the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan, the state of Israel, civil rights, the Mundt bill, the case of Rosa Lee Ingram, and universal military training.

FIGHT FOR PEACE

CAW has been continuously active, since its inception, in the fight for peace. Two years ago a peace petition was presented by a delegation from the Chicago chapter of Trygve Lie at the United Nations. Last year we conducted a national peace poll. Recently we concluded the collection of approximately 100,000 signatures in a peace petition campaign which tops all our previous efforts and has aroused great enthusiasm among our members and has reached wide groups of women outside our organization.

At the United Nations, where the WIDF has consultative status "B" to the Economic and Social Council and we have the privilege of circulating briefs among the members of the Council and its commissions, which we have done on a number of occasions, as well as the right to be heard on the floor at the discretion of the chairman of the commission, important work can be carried on. We also participate with other nongovernmental organizations and thus can make our work known to them.

We have maintained, throughout our brief history, our original and fundamental emphasis on the unity of women throughout the world—united with everincreasing strength in their common interests. We are conscious always of the worldwide scope of our struggle—and of our Spanish sisters, of our Greek, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cuban, Mexican, and African sisters. Of all these, we are always thinking with close bonds of affection and concern, and with deep gratitude we regard our European sisters in France, Italy, U. S. S. R., Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, who suffered so deeply the terrible consequences of Nazi aggression and are so gallantly building and advancing their countries.

And the masses of women in China, newly joined in the All-China Women's Congress, with a membership of 22,500,000. Through their struggle a new day has dawned for all women.

We are as yet numerically weak, but our influence is beginning to make itself felt far beyond our numbers. The CAW pursues the course of progress and peace. As it becomes clear to the American people, particularly American

women, how urgent it is for them to conduct an independent fight in their own interest, our organization will come to the fore as the vehicle through which women, as a growing and determining force, can make known their will for a

better life for themselves and their families and for a world at peace.

In anticipation of the holding of the Asian Women's Conference in Peking, the Review requested the Congress of American Women for the articles describing its activities which appears on this page. Like many other progressive organizations in the United States today, the Congress of American Women is meeting heavy opposition from the forces of reaction. Last month, the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities released a 114-page report on the Congress, charging it with being a subversive organization. The Congress replied that the committee had issued its report "without advising it (the Congress) that it was under investigation, without asking a single question" and "with the obvious intention of preventing women from participating in campaigns for peace such as those initiated by the CAW."

"The Congress of American Women is an organization of women whose openly avowed goal since its inception has been the furtherance of world peace and the betterment of the conditions of life for themselves and their children," the Congress said. "These common aims we share with women all over the world through the Women's International Democratic Federation. The validity of these aims is beyond question, except by those who would characterize the

struggle for world peace as subversive."

Ехнівіт No. 475

DOCUMENTS AND SPEECHES

(From Supplement China Monthly Review, Dec. 1950)

Copies of the China Weekly Review containing translations of the following documents and speeches are still available for those readers who wish to keep a complete file of important speeches and statements of the new China's leaders, as well as of all major laws and regulations put into effect during the past year:

	In China (including postage)	A broad (including postage)
Common Program of the PPC. Full Text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Republic. Full Text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council. Liu Shoo-chi's Speech on Sino-Soviet Friendship. List of Officials of the Central People's Government. Full Text of Li Li san's Speech on China's Trade Union Movement. Text of Treaty and Agreements between China and the Soviet Union. China's Finances and Food—an Official Report by Chen Yum Full Text of Liu Shao-chi's Labor Day Speech Tung Pi-wu's Statement on Relief and Welfare Work. Kao Kang's Report on the Economic Situation in the Northeast. Mao Tse-tung's Report on China's Economy Chen Yun's Report to the PPCC on Industry, Commerce and Taxation Reports to the PPCC National Committee. (a) Mao Tse-tung's Closing Address.	JMP9, 000 6, 000 6, 000 4, 000	US\$0.40 .30 .30 .20 .20 .20 .20 .20 .20 .20 .20 .20
(a) Mao No-jo's Report on Cultural and Educational Work in China, (b) Kuo Mo-jo's Report on Cultural and Educational Work in China, (c) Shen Chun-Ju's Report on the People's Court. Full Text of China's Agrarian Reform Law. Liu Shao-chi's Analysis of the Agrarian Reform Law. China's Trade Union Law and Comment by Li Li-san. Jao Shu-shih's Report on Land Reform in East China—Tseng Shan's Report on Financial and Economic Work in East China. Documents Pertaining to China's Foreign Relations from Oct. 1, 1949, to Sept. 1950. Reports on State of the Nation by Chou En-lai and Chen Yun.	4, 000 4, 000 4, 000 6, 500 6, 500 6, 500	. 20 0 . 22 . 30 . 30 . 30

Ехипыт №. 476

CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW LISTS OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR, PHOTOGRAPHS
AND ARTICLES DEALING WITH THE SUBJECT

October 1950, page 28: Photographs of American POW's with caption "The indictment of U. S. intervention grows clearer. Captured U. S. troops dazedly recovering from the shock of fighting against a courageous people, admit that they weren't told where they were going or what they were fighting for. Many have stated that they don't like what they are doing".

November 1950, page 67: Photographs of American prisoners of war in North Korea, captioned "American POW's Oppose Korean War". Some soldiers in

the photograph are giving the Communist salute of the clenched fist.

July 1951, pages 27 and 28: List of American prisoners of war. August 1951, pages 70-74: List of American prisoners of war.

November 1951, pages 251-253: Photograph with caption "American POW's Stage a Mass Demonstration in Opposition to the U. S. Policy of Continuing the Korean War".

December 1951, pages 318 and 319: List of American prisoners of war.

March 1953, pages 306-314: List of American prisoners of war.

April 1953, pages 72-73: List of 44 signers to "POW's Letter to Eisenhower".

EXHIBIT No. 476-A

DEFEATIST PROPAGANDA ON PRISONERS OF WAR FROM THE CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW

July 29, 1950, page 158: Article reading in part as follows: "Apparently the war in Korea was not being welcomed by many of the American GI's * * * many American prisoners in Korea were calling for the American army to get out of Korea in broadcasts as well as group-signed statements. Both officers and men of the U. S. forces captured in the South were making nightly broadcasts over the Phyongyang radio".

September 1950, pages 10 and 11: Article quoting alleged statement of Pvt, Rueben K. Kimball, Jr. of Baytown, Tex., Maj. Charles T. Barter, Maj. L. R. Dunham, 2d Lt. A. H. Books, 1st Lt. R. E. Culbertson, Sgt. Floyd A. Roy, attacking the United States. (Committee does not youch for the authenticity)

of these quotations.)

October 1950, page 28: Photographs captioned "U. S. war prisoners carry a banner: "The Korean people's struggle for a united fatherland is a just cause.

Stop at once armed intervention in Korea!"

July 1951, pages 20 and 21: Article entitled "American War Prisoners Broadcast from Korea," saying, in part, "These prisoners tell the American people that they have no business in Korea, they are being well treated, and in order to safeguard world peace, the sooner American troops get out of Korea the better."

August 1951, pages 70 and 71: Article "Two New Statements by U. S. Prisoners of War."

October 1951, pages 198-201: Statement "American POW's Demand Successful Peace Talks * * * We have written letters to our parents and friends urging them to support the peace proposals of the Korean Peoples Delegate."

November 1951, pages 251-253: Anti-U. S. letters allegedly coming from American prisoners of war. A photograph showing American prisoners of war singing the March of the Communist-controlled World Federation of Democratic Youth. Photograph of "American POW's staging a mass demonstration in opposition to the United States policy of continuing the Korean war."

December 1951, pages 276-277: Photographs attempting to show the kindness with which the North Koreans treat American prisoners.

December 1951, pages 300-301: A reproduction of Christmas cards from prisoners of war.

December 1951, pages 314-315: Article "U. S. Planes Attack POW Camp." Extending condolences to the family of a dead American lieutenant allegedly killed in such an attack.

January 1952, pages 64-69: Photographs of "U. S. British War Prisoners Peace Organizations" including posters reading "Hail the World Peace Congress." January 1952, page 70: Article "Thanksgiving in a POW Camp" stating in part, "We are treated as friends not as enemies."

January 1952, page 73: Article entitled, "Change in POW's Outlook."

January 1952, page 78: Article "U. S. Stalls on POW List." February 1952, pages 178-181: Photographs of American POW's playing games with "the Chinese people's Volunteer Team." Also a photograph of a Christmas celebration in a POW camp in North Korea. Caption describes "Good medical treatment wounded and sick POW's received in this camp."

February 1952, page 207: Article "U. S. Red-Baits Own POW's."
February 1952, pages 208-209: Photograph captioned "Some of the Best Shots * * * American POW's, dazed and disheveled at the time of their capture, cheering and applauding fellow prisoners making peace speeches in a

February 1952, page 212: "U. S. Planes Bomb POW Camp."

March 1952, page 220: Photographs showing "American POW's in North Korea Standing Around Their Own Peace Slogan."

March 1952, page 256: Article "Notes from a POW hospital in Korea" praising Communist treatment of American POW's.

July 1952, page 26: Photographs of happy prisoners of war.

August 1952, pages 117-121: Frank Noel's article "U. S. War Correspondent Describes POW Camp Life."

September 1952, page 234; Contrasting conditions in American and Communist prisoner camps.

November-December 1952, pages 443-448: Article "Why U. S. POW's Admit Using Germ Warfare."

January 1953, pages 20-27: Article by Monica Felton entitled "Stop the War!" giving a glowing report of the way POW's are treated in North Korea.

February 1953, pages 178-186: "American POW's Write to U. S. Delegates at

Peace Conference." March 1953, pages 306-314: Lists with caption "Prisoner of war camps in North

Korea have not escaped bombing and strafing by the U.S. Air Force, and the raids have resulted in the killing and wounding of POW's.'

March 1953, pages 306-314: Statement "American POW's Appeal to UN."

April 1953, pages 72-73: Statement "POW's Letter to Eisenhower." May 1953, pages 92-103: Article, "Statements of Captured U. S. Marine Corps Officers. Proof of Germ Warfare."

EXHIBIT No. 477

LISTS OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR PUBLISHED IN THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN BY ARRANGEMENT WITH JOHN W. POWELL

April 11, 1951, page 4 April 18, 1951, pages 4 and 5 April 25, 1951, page 6 August 1, 1951, page 6 August 15, 1951, page 6 August 29, 1951, page 8

EXHIBIT No. 478

POW MESSAGES FROM KOREA

Since April 1951 hundreds of messages have been broadcast by United States, British, and other prisoners of war in North Korea, addressed to their families and friends. These recorded messages stress the POW's desire for an end to the Korean war and to return to their families. In addition to personal greetings, messages point out the good treatment being received, including plenty of food, medical care, and recreational and reading facilities.

Excerpts from recent messages broadcast by the POW's reveal how these men, some of whom have been prisoners for more than 2 years, feel about the war in Korea. They also give some idea of what their life in a POW camp is like.

"Here in this camp, we do many things, such as playing softball, volleyball, and have other recreational activities like pingpong, cards, reading, and a game sort of like pool. As you can see, the Chinese are doing their best to keep my health up. Although I am kept busy I am dying to be with you once again. * * * The ending of this war and peace through the world would be the greatest thing to me that ever happened, besides meeting you. * * *"-Pfc. Herman J. Whalen to his mother in Syracuse, N. Y.

"I wish you people in the States could see the kind treatment we POW's receive from the Chinese Volunteers," said Cpl. William E. Banghart to his wife in Muncy, Pa. "Evelyn, have you heard of four American airmen who confessed to their part in bacteriological warfare being used here in Korea? Well, darling, I had an opportunity to speak with a Lt. Floyd B. O'Neal, one of these airmen. I wish you could have heard the man speak. I have never heard a speech given with such sincere and heartfelt expression. One could see that the man was truly sorry for the part he played in this savage brutal war. * * *

"It is our earnest hope that soon peace will again prevail the world over. Just remember this, peace must and will be won by all the peace-loving people

throughout the world."

"We've just had an intercamp olympics," Pvt. Thomas Davies told his wife and son in Essex, England, "I was lucky enough to go with the team from our camp * * * Talk about POW's life, I've never seen its equal. There was bunting and streamers everywhere, camp flags, colorful uniforms for all competitors, a brass band, in fact it was the last thing I'd have expected to see. The prizes were tophole and I didn't come off too bad myself, collecting five broaches, a fan, and a walking stick. It lasted a fortnight all told, and our camp managed to take second place, so you can imagine how pleased we were about that."

Prisoner of war camps in North Korea have not escaped bombing and strafing by the United States Air Force and raids have resulted in the killing and wounding of POW's. A Christmas message from United States airmen who are prisoners in Korea to all the personnel of the 5th Air Force in Korea stressed this

subject.

"Up here, it will probably be the first time in history that all prisoners will be able to celebrate with a wonderful dinner the Chinese are going to help prepare for the prisoners, and after dinner the fellows will be able to listen to some of their own kind of music. Instruments have been brought in such as guitars, harmonicas, and accordions, others such as a drum and other types the prisoners themselves made.

"Sounds like a lot of propaganda, doesn't it, but it's not. Maybe someday, when we are back home again, and we hope it's soon, you will be able to talk with your buddles who came out second best up in MIG Alley, and then you will be able

to see for yourselves.

"We always admit the Air Force did a wonderful job in the struggle against the Germans and Japanese, but here in Korea, we think you've overdone it, and set new records. A lot of homeless people are now living in caves and dugouts and in mountains. Some of them are missing their mothers and fathers and children, and their homes that weren't military targets; that's a new record for the 5th Air Force, isn't it?

"Don't forget, some of your buddies are up here. Do you know what it is to wake up in the middle of the night, and see planes bombing and strafing the camp that you live in, and seeing for yourself the houses in flames, and some of your buddies laying on a stretcher hurt, and know that these are your buddies, the same guys with whom, only a few months ago, you were together flying the

same mission?

"This coming Christmas all the camps are going to celebrate, with the help of the Chinese People's Volunteers. So if you are on patrol, on a mission, on, or near Christmas Eve, remember, there are no guns in our camps, so don't take it out on us. We would like to spend a nice quiet Christmas Eve. Please fellows, if you are having a drink fill it up again, and we hope that your next mission will be homeward bound."

Others who have broadcast in recent months are:

AMERICAN POW'S

Name	Serial No.	Rank	Address
Andrews, Malcolm Atkins, Roy Brown, Gerald	RA14218908 RA15232355 USAF9625a	Private Corporal Lieutenant Colonel	
Bundy, Lyonel D	USMC666423	Scrgeant	Calif. 3425 South Hope St., Huntington
Brock, William R., Jr Butler, Paul G	RA14396479 RA15445782	Private Private first elass	
Baillie, Fred W	RA21276582 RA13228104	Corporal Private first class _do	ville, Ky. 517 West 99th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 81 Edwards St. Fitchburg, Mass. 240 Railroad St., Muney, Pa. Prestonbury, Ky.

AMERICAN POW'S-Continued

Dolmein Harold M	Name	Serial No.	Rank	Address
Billitt, Robert R	Roker Jerry D	USMC1226854	Private 1st class	420 West Dunham, Hobbs, N. Mex
Carter, Jeroy, J. R. J. Sample	Barnes, Thomas Richard	USM C1188481		Post Office Box 154, Dadeville, Ala.
Carter, Jeroy, J. P. A. 1506265 Collision Context Collision Co	Bhiltt, Robert R	RA13310987	Private 1st class	Pennsylvania.
Carter, Jeroy, J. P. A. 1506265 Collision Context Collision Co	Canden William A		Private 1st class	Route No. 3, Gorham, Maine.
Delgndo, Tarslelo	Carter, Leroy, Jr		Corporal	1509 South 1 St., Tacoma, Wash.
Delgndo, Tarslelo	Cross, Sherman	RA15266364	do	530 Indiana Ave., Toledo, Ohlo.
Dolgado, Tarsielo	Conley, Benjamin	RA15204515 RA35221518	qo	318 West Goodale St., Columbus,
Dunnel, Harold M. RAIS000344 E18753585 E18753585 E18846 F E18753585 E18753585 E188646 F E18753585 E18753585 E18754 E18753585 E18754 E18753585 E18754 E18753585 E18754 E18753585 E18754 E18754 E18753585 E18754 E1	Delgado, Tarsicio		do	2437 Workman St., Los Angeles, Cali.
Duncan, Thomas E	Dunn, Harold M Douglass, Richard F		Private, first class	115 Amy St., Syracuse, N. Y. R. F. D. 1, Spear St., South Burling-
Edwards, Arnold R. USMC119352 Forty, Loyd N. RA13936254 Fordy, Ohn E. RA15253612 Freeman, Leroy RA15253612 Gorporal RA15253612 RA15253612 RA15253612 RA15253612 Corporal RA15253612 RA15253613 RA1521361 R	Duncan, Thomas E		Corporal	Route 1, Box 286, Kennewick, Wash.
Edwards, Arnold R. USMC119352 Forty, Loyd N. RA13936254 Fordy, Ohn E. RA15253612 Freeman, Leroy RA15253612 Gorporal RA15253612 RA15253612 RA15253612 RA15253612 Corporal RA15253612 RA15253613 RA1521361 R	Degraw, Bobby, R		Private	Route 2, Abbesville, Miss.
Forty Lioyal RA15396129 Forty Lioyal Forty RA15396129 Frond, John E RA15256612 Route Larry RA15256612 Corporal Comporal Comp	Erickson, Edwin W., Jr.	RA18181887	Private first class	Massachnsetts, Lucerno Mo
Ford, John E. RA15268612 Preeman, Leroy. RA15268612 Godfrey, Larry. RA15268529 Godfrey, Larry. RA1524881 Gregory, Arthur J. USAIC1180813 Hikida, Ray Y. RA16363345 Hisidam, Reed A. RA19348834 Hall, Cornelius. A. RA1934884 Hall, Cornelius. A. Rate I., Rio, Miss. Hall, Cornelius. A. Rate I., Rio, R	Forry Lloyd N		Private Private	818 North 10th St., Reading, Pa.
Freeman, Leroy. Godfrey, Larry. Godfrey, Larry. Gregory, Arthur J. USNIC 186613 Hikida, Ray Y. Halkida, Ray Y. Harbarr, John T. Harbarr, John T. Harbarr, John T. Harbarr, John T. Harbarr, Smith. Hemphill, Lorn. Hemphill, Lorn. Hemphill, Lorn. Henderson, Warren. Henderson, Warren. Jackson, Amos, Jr. RA39760197 Kilburn, Gerald. Kilburn, Gerald. RA15264065 Lewis, William, Jr. RA15264065 Lewis, William J. Martine, Gilberto. Martine, Raymond C. US597667 Moble, Jack D. RA18338059 Paul, Donald E. US55018717 Peasner, Thomas R., Jr. RA18323089 Paul, Donald E. USS1105429 Perterson, Richard. Private, first class. Corporal. 175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnatt, Ohio. 3000 West 10th St., Amarillo, Tex. 637 Hillsboro St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1804 Vest Market St., New York 31, 40. 197 Veste. 197 South Dorrance St., Philadelphia, Pa. 198 Swest Market St., Mararillo, Tex. 198 West 10th St., Amarillo, Tex. 199 Corporal. 1175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnatt, Ohio. 430 West 10th St., Amarillo, Tex. 431 West 141st St., New York 31, 40. 104 Petale first class. 105 Julyrook Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 433 Wyrite St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnatt, Ohio. 439 Myrite St., Philadelphia, Pa. 129 North Franklin St., Philadelphia, Pa. 129 North Franklin St., Philadelphia, Pa. 129 North Franklin St., Philadelphia, Pa. 129 Corporal. 1175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnatt, Ohio. 430 West St., South St., Amarillo, Tex. 129 Corporal. 1175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnatt, Ohio. 430 West Market St., Second. 431 West 10th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 129 Corporal. 1175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnatt, Ohio. 432 West Market St., Second. 433 West Nicholog. 440 Holling Pa. 451 Private. 452 Corporal. 1175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnatt, Ohio. 461 Hilbsboro St. Philadelphia, Pa. 129 Corporal. 1175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnatt, Ohio. 120 Levist St., Full Meley Pa. 121 Corporal. 121 Corporal. 121 Corporal. 122 Corporal	Ford, John E	RA15258642		27 High St., Jeffersonville, Clark
Harbour, John T	Freeman, Leroy	RA13568529	Corporal	544 Pontiae Ave., Dayton 8, Onio.
Harbour, John T	Godfrey, Larry	RA17243981	Drivete first along	Route 4, Arkansas City, Kans.
Harbour, John T	Hilado Roy Y	RA 16303345	Corporal .	1654 Holyrook Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Harris, Smith	Haslam, Reed A	RA19345937	Private, first class	Wellsville, Utah.
Harris, Smith	Harbour, John T	RA 14321458	Corporal	Route 1, Rio, Miss.
Hemphill, Lorn	Hall, Cornelius			1513 South I St., Taeoma, Wash.
Hempdill, Lorn	Harris, Smith			phia. Pa.
Henderson, Warren	Hemphill, Lorn			1137 South Dorrance St., Philadel-
Jackson, Amos, Jr. RA39760197 Corporal 175 Sherman Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 3000 West 10th St., Amarillo, Tex. Private, William, Jr. RA1529548 RA1529548 RA12255190 RA1529548 RA12255190 MeCartney, William J. RA134048 Private 637 Hilbson St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 453 West 141st St., New York 31, N.Y. 40 1004 Polk St., Shewman Ave., Clevekand, Ohio. 478 Martin, Raymond C. US51038210 Private Frederiksburg, Pa. 1004 Polk St., New York 31, N.Y. 40 1004 Polk St., New York 31, N.Y. 40 1004 Polk St., Shewman Ave., Clareland, Ohio. 478 Martin, Raymond C. US51038210 Private Frederiksburg, Pa. 159 West Market St., Gardena, Calli. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex. 159 West Market St., Gardena, 161 Gaston Ave., Janica, N.Y. 17505 Liberty Ave., J	Henderson, Warren Hopkins, Stephen			1239 Myrtle St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1516 South 19th St., Philadelphia,
RA15264665 Ado	Jackson, Amos, Jr			
Martinez, Gilberto. US5005667 Martin, Raymond C. US51038210 RA19338887 Pfe. 1559 Page, Frank J. RA13163949 Pfe. 1559 Paul, Donald E. US5018717 Corporal 311½ Grove St., Kingston. Pa. Peasner, Thomas R., Jr. RA18323089 do. 4616 Gaston Avc., Dallas, Tex. Peterson, Richard. US51105429 Private 1750 Liberty Ave., Jamica, N. Y. Peterson, Joseph. US51105429 Private 1750 Liberty Ave., Jamica, N. Y. Parker, Willie A. RA57301086 Corporal 2736 Buena Vista Rd., Columbus, Ga. Rambo, John. 25315644 Scrgeant 206 Alexander St., Fountain City, Tenn. Ribbeck, Lester A. USMC1193721 Pfe. 10 Water, St. Lockport, N. Y. Rada, Stephen A. RA13273634 do. 46 Main St., Branchdale, Pa. Renonf, Bernard N. RA1192667 Maine. Delano, Calif. Roberts, Lloyd L. US37900548 Maine. Ra15272210 Scherer, James H. RA15272210 RA15272210 RA15272210	Kilburn, Gerald	RA15264065	do	3000 West 10th St., Amarillo, Tex.
Martinez, Gilberto. US5005667 Martin, Raymond C. US51038210 RA19338887 Pfe. 1559 Page, Frank J. RA13163949 Pfe. 1559 Paul, Donald E. US5018717 Corporal 311½ Grove St., Kingston. Pa. Peasner, Thomas R., Jr. RA18323089 do. 4616 Gaston Avc., Dallas, Tex. Peterson, Richard. US51105429 Private 1750 Liberty Ave., Jamica, N. Y. Peterson, Joseph. US51105429 Private 1750 Liberty Ave., Jamica, N. Y. Parker, Willie A. RA57301086 Corporal 2736 Buena Vista Rd., Columbus, Ga. Rambo, John. 25315644 Scrgeant 206 Alexander St., Fountain City, Tenn. Ribbeck, Lester A. USMC1193721 Pfe. 10 Water, St. Lockport, N. Y. Rada, Stephen A. RA13273634 do. 46 Main St., Branchdale, Pa. Renonf, Bernard N. RA1192667 Maine. Delano, Calif. Roberts, Lloyd L. US37900548 Maine. Ra15272210 Scherer, James H. RA15272210 RA15272210 RA15272210	Lewis, William, Jr.	RA15295448	Private, first class	8619 Cedar Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Martinez, Gilberto. US5005667 Martin, Raymond C. US51038210 RA19338887 Pfe. 1559 Page, Frank J. RA13163949 Pfe. 1559 Paul, Donald E. US5018717 Corporal 311½ Grove St., Kingston. Pa. Peasner, Thomas R., Jr. RA18323089 do. 4616 Gaston Avc., Dallas, Tex. Peterson, Richard. US51105429 Private 1750 Liberty Ave., Jamica, N. Y. Peterson, Joseph. US51105429 Private 1750 Liberty Ave., Jamica, N. Y. Parker, Willie A. RA57301086 Corporal 2736 Buena Vista Rd., Columbus, Ga. Rambo, John. 25315644 Scrgeant 206 Alexander St., Fountain City, Tenn. Ribbeck, Lester A. USMC1193721 Pfe. 10 Water, St. Lockport, N. Y. Rada, Stephen A. RA13273634 do. 46 Main St., Branchdale, Pa. Renonf, Bernard N. RA1192667 Maine. Delano, Calif. Roberts, Lloyd L. US37900548 Maine. Ra15272210 Scherer, James H. RA15272210 RA15272210 RA15272210	MeCartney, William J Murray, Wesley	RA13440548 RA12255190	Corporal	453 West 141st St., New York 31,
Martin, Raymond C			do	N. Y.
Page, Frank J	Martin Raymond C	TIS51038210	Private	Frederiksburg, Pa.
Page	Noble, Jack D		Pfe	1559 West Market St., Gardena,
Peasner, Thomas R., Jr. RA18323089 do. del Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex.	Paga Frank I	R A 13163949	Corporal	31134 Grove St., Kingston, Pa.
Peasner, Thomas R., Jr.	Paul, Donald E		Private	302 East Lawrence St., Misbawaka,
Carporal City, Carporal Corporal C	Peasner, Thomas R., Jr	RA18323089		4616 Gaston Ave., Dallas, Tex.
Carporal City, Carporal Corporal C	Peterson, Richard	77077408400	The beauty	Ishpeming, Mich.
Carporal City, Carporal Corporal C	Picerno, Joseph Parker, Willie A	RA57301086	Corporal	2736 Buena Vista Rd., Columbus,
Ribbeck, Lester A		25315644	:	Ga. 206 Alexander St., Fountain City,
Renoif, Bernard N RA1199267 -do. Maine. Roberts, Lloyd L US3790948 Private 316 Glenwood Ave., Mankato, Minn Robinson, Marshall RA15266644 do. 815 Palmwood Ave., Toledo, Ohio. Staudenmayer, Thomas E AF13401869 -1054 Alcott St., Philadelphia 24, Pa. RA15272210 RA15312094 RA15312094 RA15312094 RA15312094 RA153266481 Pfc. -1054 Alcott St., Philadelphia 24, Pa. Route 3, Clarksburg, W. Va. Pennsylvania.				Tonn
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Scheefer, Jaines Ral52696481 Ral52696481 Pfc. Stewart, Donald. Stewart, Donald. Ral52696481 Pfc. Stewart, Donald.	Roberts, Lloyd L	US37900548	Private	316 Glenwood Ave., Mankato, Minn
Scheefer, Jaines Ral52696481 Ral52696481 Pfc. Stewart, Donald. Stewart, Donald. Ral52696481 Pfc. Stewart, Donald.	Standonmover Thomas F	A F13401860		1054 Aleott St., Philadelphia 24, Pa.
Scheefer, Jaines Ral52696481 Ral52696481 Pfc. Stewart, Donald. Stewart, Donald. Ral52696481 Pfc. Stewart, Donald.	Sirk Kenneth Louis	RA15272210	Pfe	Route 3, Clarksburg, W. Va.
Wertman, Albert P. USMC1065288 Corporal 1913 East 73d St., Cleveland, Obio. Whalen, Herman J. RA12318485 Private 391 Hudson St., Syracuse, N. Y. Wagner Kenyon L. ER16219149 Corporal 4353 Dikerson Ave., Detroit, Mich. Warren, Vernon L. RA17236176 do 4073 Labadic Ave., St. Louis, Mo. Wills, Morris R. RA12356664 Private first class West Fort Ann, N. Y. 2036 West Nichoka St., Philadelphia, Pa. PA16244091 Sergeont 915 North Ashland Ave. Chicago, Ill.	Scherer, James H	RA13312094	Corporal	
Wertman, Albert P. USMC1065288 Corporal 1913 East 73d St., Cleveland, Obio. Whalen, Herman J. RA12318485 Private 391 Hudson St., Syracuse, N. Y. Wagner Kenyon L. ER16219149 Corporal 4353 Dikerson Ave., Detroit, Mich. Warren, Vernon L. RA17236176 do 4073 Labadic Ave., St. Louis, Mo. Wills, Morris R. RA12356664 Private first class West Fort Ann, N. Y. 2036 West Nichoka St., Philadelphia, Pa. PA16244091 Sergeont 915 North Ashland Ave. Chicago, Ill.	Stovall, Andrew	RA15266481	do	297 Euclid Ave., Arkon 7, Ohio.
Wertman, Albert P. USMC1065288 Corporal 1913 East 73d St., Cleveland, Obio. Whalen, Herman J. RA12318485 Private 301 Hudson St., Syracuse, N. Y. Wagner Kenyon L. ER16219149 Corporal 4353 Dikerson Ave., Detroit, Mich. Warren, Vernon L. RA17236176 do 4073 Labadic Ave., St. Louis, Mo. Wills, Morris R. RA12356664 Private first class West Fort Ann, N. Y. 2036 West Nichoka St., Philadelphia, Pa. PA16244091 Sergeont 918 North Ashland Ave. Chicago, Ill.	Stewart, Donald	RA 13347210	Corporal	1 6410 Ward St., Cincinnati 21, Onto.
Wertman, Albert P. USMC1065288 Corporal 1913 East 73d St., Cleveland, Obio. Whalen, Herman J. RA12318485 Private 301 Hudson St., Syracuse, N. Y. Wagner Kenyon L. ER16219149 Corporal 4353 Dikerson Ave., Detroit, Mich. Warren, Vernon L. RA17236176 do 4073 Labadic Ave., St. Louis, Mo. Wills, Morris R. RA12356664 Private first class West Fort Ann, N. Y. 2036 West Nichoka St., Philadelphia, Pa. PA16244091 Sergeont 918 North Ashland Ave. Chicago, Ill.	Thomas, Nathaniel S	RA15297574	Pfe	445 Liberty Ave., Alliance, Ohio.
Wertman, Albert P. USMC1065288 Corporal 1913 East 73d St., Cleveland, Obio. Whalen, Herman J. RA12318485 Private 301 Hudson St., Syracuse, N. Y. Wagner Kenyon L. ER16219149 Corporal 4353 Dikerson Ave., Detroit, Mich. Warren, Vernon L. RA17236176 do 4073 Labadic Ave., St. Louis, Mo. Wills, Morris R. RA12356664 Private first class West Fort Ann, N. Y. 2036 West Nichoka St., Philadelphia, Pa. PA16244091 Sergeont 918 North Ashland Ave. Chicago, Ill.	Tenneson, Richard P	RA17281893	do	l Minnesota
Wagner Kenyon L. ER 16219149 Corporat 4353 Diekerson Ave. Derborat 4453 Diekerson Ave. Derborat <td></td> <td></td> <td> </td> <td>3d Wells Ct., Youngstown, Ohio.</td>				3d Wells Ct., Youngstown, Ohio.
Wagner Kenyon L. ER 16219149 Corporat 4353 Diekerson Ave. Derborat 4453 Diekerson Ave. Derborat <td>Wertman, Albert P</td> <td>USMC1065298</td> <td> Corporal</td> <td>1915 East 750 St., Cleverand, Unio,</td>	Wertman, Albert P	USMC1065298	Corporal	1915 East 750 St., Cleverand, Unio,
Wilker, Johnny. Walker, Johnny. PA16244001 Sergeont 915 North Ashland Ave. Chicago, Ill.	Wagner Kenyon I.	ER 16910140	Corporal	4353 Dickerson Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Wilker, Johnny. Walker, Johnny. PA16244001 Sergeont 915 North Ashland Ave. Chicago, Ill.	Warren, Vernon L	RA17236176	do	4073 Labadie Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Veryaham Michael BA16944901 Sergoont 916 North Ashland Ave Chicago, Ill.	Wills, Morris R	RA12356664	Private first class	West Fort Ann, N. Y.
Vouchem Michael DA16944001 Sorgoont 1016 North ASHBOG AVE CHICARO, ID.	Walker, Johnny			2036 West Nacholas St., Phasaelphia, Pa
167	Yewehyn, Micheal Ybarra, Joel C		Sergeant Corporal	I OIG North Ashland Ave. Unicago, Di.

Ехнівіт №. 479

POW'S LETTER TO EISENHOWER

American POW's hope for a speedy end to the war in Korea, and doubts about United States foreign policy were expressed in an open letter to President Eisenhower. The letter was signed by 44 American prisoners of war in North Korea.

"Dear Mr. President: We American prisoners of war in North Korea, deem it our right and privilege as American citizens to speak out in reference to the Korean situation, and the international situation as a whole. * * *

"For nearly a year and a half now, peace negotiations have been carried on in Panmunjom, Korea, with no satisfactory or noticeable progress toward finding a peaceful conclusion to this war up to the present date. We do not feel, however, that the present prevailing attitude, in view of the recent recess of negotiations, shows a sincere desire to end this war on the part of the U. N. delegation.

"We look to the new administration with the feeling of hope that some just settlement can and will be reached in the near future. We sincerely hope that the new administration will uphold the promises of its campaign in the eyes of the world. We are looking for peace in Korea and throughout the world, and we feel certain that the American people are also looking for this peace. We also feel that should the American foreign policy continue as it has in the recent

past, it can only end in chaos for our people.

"We have many questions and doubts in our minds; questions and doubts that we feel are also dominant in the minds of the American people as a whole. Among these are questions such as: 'Why, for the first time in history, has the question of voluntary repatriation arisen at such a crucial time, when so much depends upon the successful outcome of the Korean negotiations?' and 'Why is such an extensive armaments program being carried out by our Government when the main issue in the world today is peace, not war? * * * We would also like to know why, in view of the international tension that has prevailed during the past few years, some effort hasn't been made to hold a meeting of the Great Powers, in order to gain a better understanding of each other, so that a firm, stabilized peace can be realized. We sincerely feel that such relations could be established if it was truly the desire of our leaders to do so.

"* * * In Korea * * * a reasonable cease-fire line has already been agreed upon. Surely the ever-mounting loss of American youths on the battlefield can never be considered a victory on the part of the American people, especially when, after 2 years of continual fighting, absolutely nothing has been accom-

plished that could prove a credit to the prestige of our Nation.

"Therefore, in closing, we sincerely hope that you will take into consideration the above-mentioned points, and will do all within your power to bring a quick, just peace to Korea and assure us that there will be no future Koreas and no future wars for our generation, and the future generations of our Nation yet to come. We also implore you to accept your post in the full tradition of our great Nation and to live up to the glorious, righteous past of its people.

"We thank you sincerely."

(Signed) Fred Garza, Jr., William Polee, Terron W. Sanchez, Otho G. Bell, Cpl. John L. Dixon, Cpl. Elias B. Villegas, Robert W. Allen, Johnny Walker, Joe Morrison, William C. White, Fred W. Porter, John L. Thomas, Frank J. Quarter, Paul F. Schnur, Jr., Glenn E. Stotts, Rufus E. Douglas, Harold M. Dunny, Howard J. Beadleson, Samuel D. Hawkins, Roscoe Perry, Linton J. Dartez, Rogers Herndon, Joe B. Vara, Nathaniel S. Thomas, Larance V. Sullivan, Leroy Carter, Theodore L. Thompson, Robert H. Hickox, Howard G. Adams, Claude J. Batchelor, Clarence C. Adams, Ricardo H. Soto, Roy Atkins, Richard O. Morrison, James T. Pinkston, Donald B. Disney, Bennie D. Smith, Edward S. Dickenson, William R. Hinkle, John A. Wells, Lowell D. Skinner, Johnny B. Trevino, Harold E. Belden, Harry C. Copeland.

EXHIBIT No. 480

AMERICAN POW'S WANT PEACE NOW

The following message was sent to the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference held in Peking last October by more than 200 American and British POW's in North Korea:

"Some of the best news we have heard here for quite some time was the news of the Asian-Pacific Peace Conference to be held this month,

"After being here for nearly 2 years as prisoners of war, such news was indeed a great hope and inspiration. Even though our treatment is better than would ordinarily be expected under such wartime conditions, being denied the rights of

free and useful citizens for so long a time Is truly morale-breaking.

"We here wish to let you know that we truly wish you every success in the world. The sooner the peace negotiations at Panmunjom reach a successful conclusion, the sooner millions of people from various countries will be made happy. Most of all, the sooner the Korean people will be enabled to repair the immense damage that has been done to their homeland. Likewise, the sooner the international tension existing today will be lessened and the danger of new wars will cease. To us it means a quicker reunion with our loved ones whom we have not seen for many, many months.

"It is with our most heartfelt feelings that we wish you complete success

in the cause of peace."

The United States of America delegation to the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference received 15 letters signed by 64 American prisoners of war

expressing their views on peace. Excerpts from these letters follow:

"We want to take this opportunity to wish you warm greetings. We realize that peace is what every man, woman, and child desires in this world today. It is up to brave, open-minded people like you to lead us to this goal. * * * We feel certain that if the people at home had witnessed war as we here have done, they too would support you. We have been POW's for more than 2 years now and it is our sincere desire for a speedy and successful conclusion of hostilities in Korea for the benefit of all mankind."

"It is with a feeling of pride that I write this letter to you. Proud that our country is being represented in this conference which is working for such lofty goals. Being represented in this conference is an acknowledgment that the American people have a will for peace and are willing to work for that end.

"I wish to extend to you my congratulations and wish you every success in your future work. The resolutions and actions made at this conference are of vital interest to all of us who long to return to our loved ones. May God bless your efforts with success."

"I take pleasure in expressing my heart's desire for an end to the Korean conflict and a 'Five Power' peace conference in order that both societies could

come to a mutual agreement on issues concerning the world, and the peace in it. "Through your efforts I am sure that you can help us greatly in our desire for an armistice in Korca. Being POW's now for 17 months we would like more than our hearts can express to be once again back with our loved ones and take up the peaceful life we once led."

"Peace to me means more than just going home. It means staying home the rest of my life and living and working in harmony with all the peoples of the world. It is because of this simple desire that I write to congratulate you and wish you all the success possible."

"We as American POW's appreciate your concern in trying to bring about a peaceful settlement to this Korean conflict and promoting world peace. We realize that free trade, cultural intercourse and cooperation between governments is the only way that world peace can be attained. We wish you and your colleagues all the success possible in your struggle for world peace."

"Just a few words to express my thanks and offer you my full support in your role as representative of the peace-loving people of the United States to the coming peace conference. All of us prisoners of war are most desirous of an immediate armistice in Korea as we are very anxious to return to our loved ones. Not only do we wish to have a cease-fire in Korea but we also most earnestly hope for a peaceful coexistence and cooperation between all the nations of the world. I sincerely believe this is possible with more and more common people of the world speaking out for peace."

"I would like you to know that you have my wholehearted support in your drive for peace. It's funny to be writing to people you never met, but because we want the same thing—world peace—I think all of us common people should

unite. It is not because I am a POW that I desire peace. It is because I myself. and I know this applies to all other POW's, am tired of the wholesale killing which is now going on. It is not I who am the only mother's son here in Korea. There are many mothers and loved ones all over the world who are weeping. I believe if more people like you can help the common people unite, there can be an end to hostilities in Korea."

"We, the undersigned members of the Armed Forces of the United States." at present prisoners of war in North Korea, wish to take this opportunity to extend our hearty congratulations to you and all the delegates on the opening of the peace conference for the Asian and Pacific regions. We have studied the main points of the program to be covered by this conference and believe that these points are all essential to a lasting peace in the world of the future.

"We realize that a lasting peace can be built only on the solid foundation of cooperation between all countries of the world and we wish to congratulate you

and the other delegates on the step you have taken in this direction."

"I am proud to hear of the delegates which are representing the United States and many other countries, especially the Latin American countries, Honduras especially. Give my regards to Paul Robeson. I as a prisoner of war here in Korea wish the peace conference every success in the future."

"We the members of the POW camp would like to express our sincere thanks for the steps you are taking in forwarding a speedy and successful agreement to the present Korean war and at the same time a world peace. We sincerely hope you expose to world citizens our true desire for a speedy, safe return home to our loved ones. I can say at this time that it is everyone's true desire to return to a peaceful life and away from the horrors of war. We stand ready to assist you in any way possible."

"I am sure that most people in the world desire peace. I hope it will not be too long before Mr. Warmonger realizes this. No doubt one of the major questions at your conference will be the Korean situation. My own opinion is that when the Korean problem is settled that there will be no recurrence anywhere in the world due to the overpowering peace drives going on today. Due to my present position, my activities are limited. I can only cheer for my side, and my side is definitely peace."

EXHIBIT No. 481

MATERIAL PUBLISHED IN THE CHINA WEEKLY (MONTHLY) REVIEW ON GERM WARFARE

March 1952, pages 225-228: Editorial "Crime Against Humanity" which speaks in part of the "deliberate United States campaign of extermination" and "the latest American crime * * * the launching of bacteriological warfare in Korea."

April 1952, pages 316-317: Photographic "evidence" of United States germ warfare under the caption "Crime Against Humanity."

Page 317: An editorial, "United States Extends Germ Warfare."

Pages 324-331: Article "Germ Warfare: A Sign of United States Desperation

Page 398: Article stating in part, "American Air Force personnel who spread bacteriological warfare over China will be dealt with as war criminals by the Chinese Government."

May 1952, page 424: Editorial, "United States Germ Warfare Fully Proved," accompanied by photographs of alleged "unexploded germ bombs."

Page 451: Article, "United States Planes Conduct Germ Raids."

November-December 1952, pages 437-442: "United States Germ Warfare—Report of International Scientists Commission."

Pages 443-448: "Why United States POW's Admit Using Germ Warfare." January 1953, page 66: Statement of 27 scientists and doctors who attended the Communist-controlled Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference condemning United States germ warfare.

May 1953, pages 92-103: Article, "Statements of Captured United States Marine

Corps Officers. Proof of Germ Warfare."

Exhibit No. 482

GERM WARFARE

March 1952, pages 225-228-Editorial, "Crime Against Humanity":

"With millions of civilian dead and homeless in Korea as a direct result of the deliberate United States campaign of extermination, the latest American crime to come to light has been the launching of bacteriological warfare in Korea. Not content with the wiping out of entire cities and towns by napalm bombings, massacres of military and civilian prisoners, and campaigns such as Operation Killer, the Americans have resorted to one more bestiality in their frantic efforts to conquer the Korean people and extend their aggression in Asia.

"Proceeding in a vein which surpasses the savagery of Hitler Germany and Hirohito Japan in the last war, the American invaders, by a systematic spreading of smallpox, choicra, and plague germs over North Korea, have shocked and

horrified the entire world.

"North Korean Foreign Minister Bak Hun Yung's protest to the United Nations on February 22 reveals in detail the use of bacteriological weapons by United States forces in Korea. The charges, fully documented, show that the Americans have engaged in spreading infectious diseases on a scale unparalleled in world history. This most recent American crime in Korea is further proof that the United States having failed to win a military decision and forced to negotiate for a ceasefire in Korea, is resorting to even more revolting acts of barbarity in an effort to stave off defeat (p. 225).

this latest crime of the American Government. In this respect the American people have a great responsibility. The people of America must demand an immediate ceasefire in Korea and an end to these acts of sickening barbarism which the Pentagon madmen are daily committing in their name" (p 230).

April 1952—Pictures inserted between pages 316 and 317 purport to show germs, samples of insects, etc., dropped by United States planes. Editorial,

pages 317-320, states:

"The extension of bacteriological warfare from Korea to China is a further demonstration of the complete callousness and barbarity of the men running the United States today. It also is a clear sign that Washington is bent on wrecking the Panmunjom cease-fire talks and extending its war of aggression in Korea (p. 317).

* * * * * * *

"Nor can charges that the Koreans and Chinese are trying to find excuses for already existent epidemics carry any weight with the Chinese and Korean peoples. In both countries overall health campaigns were launched immediately after liberation, with the result that the old endemic diseases which regularly produced epidemics of cholera, plague, and smallpox in this part of the world have virtually disappeared.

* * * * * * *

"Extending germ warfare to China throws the spotlight on a cold-blooded attempt to exterminate millions of people. The seriousness of the crime carried out by the United States Government cannot be overemphasized and in his March 8 statement, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai declared that the United States Government must bear full responsibility for all consequences arising from its crime. He also stated that members of the United States Air Force who fly over China and use bacteriological weapons will, on capture, be dealt with as war criminals (p. 319).

* * * * * * *

"All participants—those who make policy, those who issue orders and those who actually perform the criminal acts—are guilty and will have to share responsibility for this sickening crime which has horrified the civilized world.

"It is already late but there is still time for the American people to put a stop to these crimes against humanity which are being committed in their name. And there is still time for the individual soldier to make that 'moral choice' which the allies so recently declared to be his personal responsibility" (p. 320).

Pages 324-330—Article on germ warfare: "A Sign of United States Despera-

tion in Korea" states:

"* * * Its military machine bogged down in Korea, the Pentagon is frantically attempting to stave off defeat by any means. The use of germ warfare in Korea not only demonstrates the moral degeneracy of the Truman administration, but is a clear indication of the crisis in Wall Street's war strategy * * * (p. 324).

"* * * Much as the men in the Pentagon may count on their latest experiment with a 'fantastic new weapon' they are bound to find it unable to bring them victory. Like every other attempt to terrorize the Koreans and Chinese, such as the use of napalm bombs to burn down whole towns and villages, B-W will not be the decisive factor in Korea. Methods such as this can only serve to unite further the Korean and Chinese peoples in their determination to resist

and strike back at the instigators of this latest war horror.

"The men responsible for B-W in Korea cannot escape the final judgment of the peoples of the world. They might do well to read the statement of their Nazi predecessors regarding B-W. As disclosed at the Nuremberg war crimes trials, the Nazi high command planned but did not use it. The reasons are illuminating, for after noting that it cannot be 'decisive' and cannot be used against enemy troops because of the danger of infecting one's own, Deutsche Wehr, semiofficial organ of the German Army, said: 'It is the effect on morale that must be considered above all * * * it is wise not to exaggerate the effects, especially in the case of a population which is neither ignorant nor easily intimidated.'

"As the American invaders of Korea have found out since June 1950, the people of both Korea and new China are not ignorant of the issues involved in the Korean war and they certainly are not easily intimidated" (p. 331).

Pages 398-399-China Notes-U. S. Warned on Germ Warfare:

"* * * American Air Force personnel who spread bacteriological warfare over China will be dealt with as war criminals by the Chinese Government. This declaration, made in Peking on March 8 by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, followed repeated United States plane sorties over northeast China in which germ-carrying insects were relased * * *" (p. 398).

Rest of article is a summary of Chou En-lai's charges.

May 1952, pages 424-428-Editorial "U. S. Germ War Fully Proved":

** * * The evidence gathered on the spreading of germ warfare in Korea and northeast China conclusively proves that the United States is committing a war crime and a crime against humanity in its frantic efforts to succeed where it has

failed on the battlefield and at the conference table * * * (p. 424).

"* * * The background of United States preparations for germ warfare is well known to the entire world. Now it is engaging in actual use of germ warfare on a scale that is overtaking the Nazis and the Japanese in crimes against humanity, and in violation of international law. All of Acheson's mouthings to the contrary, germ warfare committed by United States forces in Korea and northeast China is an established fact.

"All over the world people are protesting against this crime and are demanding that those responsible be brought to justice. In this the American people must bear full responsibility lest they be judged as were those Germans who stood idly by while the Nazis carried on mass slaughter and destruction all over

Europe * * *" (p. 428).

Page 429 carries pictures of "Unexploded Germ Bombs."

"* * * United States planes continue germ raids.

"The United States Air Force has continued to bomb and spray infected insects and materials in northeast China, a campaign which began on Febru-

ary 29.

"A typical instance took place on March 16 when 17 groups of United States planes making a total of 75 sorties, flew over Antung, Langtow, Fengeheng, Chi-an, Linkiang, Chinyu, and Lakushao. At 3 in the afternoon, more than 10 planes were seen over Antung and dropped white containers. Infected insects, including flies, mosquitoes, and spiders, were found immediately afterward in the vicinity. Earlier, at 1 minute past 2 on the same afternoon, 1 United States plane dropped 2 hombs near the Chi-an Railroad Station * * * "" (p. 451).

May 1952, pages 476-477:

"United States Germ Warfare in Northeast.

"Conclusive evidence of United States germ warfare in northeast China has been collected by the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in the course of an investigation in the northeast. The lawyers, coming from eight different countries, began their investigation work in northeast China on March 26, after having examined evidence of United States germ warfare in Korea.

"In addition to on-the-spot investigation and personal interviews, the lawyers examined a mass of evidence laid before them by Wang Pin, head of the Northeast People's Government Health Department. Enfomologists, bacteriologists,

and pathologists were also called in as witnesses by the lawyers.

"Data supplied by the Health Department described in great detail the date, place, witnesses, and material evidence in each case. Experts testified, on the basis of scientific data, that the large quantities of unusual insects which have been found in different parts of the northeast could never have emerged in the then prevailing natural conditions in the places concerned, and that some of the types of insects had never before been found locally. As a result of scientific examination, it was definitely established that the insects carried various types of deadly germs.

"On March 27, the Commission questioned witnesses from Mukden, Kwantien, and Chinchow who had discovered the infected insects dropped by United States planes. Some were eyewitnesses who personally saw United States aircraft drop containers which contained infected insects while others were the first to locate clusters of insects after they landed on the ground. The Commission also saw samples of infected insects and photographic plates of laboratory findings, and

examined the results of tests on animals.

"The Commission noted: 'In most of these cases, circumstances were found in northeast China similar to those examined by us in Korea. We note particularly the unusual nature and close grouping of insects in the extremely cold temperature in which the insects were found alive on snow and ice. Flies, mosquitoes, fleas, and feathers have been found to earry bacteria or to be infected with virus.'

"The Commission, headed by Heinrich Brandweiner, of Austria, consisted of lawyers from Italy, Britain, Poland, Belgium, China, Brazil, and France. Reports attesting to United States germ warfare in northeast China were sent to D. N. Pritt, chairman of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers

and to Frederic Joliot-Curie, president of the World Peace Council."

November-December 1952, pages 437-442.—Article on "U. S. Germ Warfare: Report of International Scientists' Commission." Commission was formed after Oslo meeting of the World Peace Council, arrived in Peking late in June. Article contains conclusion stating United States used variety of germs and should be condemned. Also biographies of the six scientists (Sweden, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Brazil, and U. S. S. R.) and Chinese liaison scientists. Pictures of metal and porcelain containers dropped by United States planes and of group examining pathological changes in lungs and brains of victims of anthrax dropped by United States planes.

November-December 1952, pages 443-448.—"Why U. S. POW's Admit Using Germ Warfare." Wilfred Burchett who had talked with American Lieutenants Enoch, Quinn, O'Neal, and Kniss. Burchett is interviewed while attending the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference. Shows picture of members of Scientific Commission interviewing Lt. Paul Kniss, also another picture showing

Lt. F. B. O'Neal.

January 1953, page 66.—Statement (excerpts) of 27 scientists and doctors who attended Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference. Subject: United States use of germ warfare in Korea.

EXHIBIT No. 483

[From the China Monthly Review, January 1953, p. 661

SCIENTISTS AND DOCTORS SAY

Twenty-seven scientists and doctors who attended the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference signed a statement condemning the use of bacteriolegical waysform. Except their statement follows:

logical warfare. Excerpts from their statement follow:

"Having examined all the available materials, of high scientific value, on which likewise were based the conclusions of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China, we are fully convinced that the United States Armed Forces have committed this crime, and hereby strongly denounce this criminal act of misnsing science against humanity.

"As scientists and doctors we firmly believe that science should be developed for the benefit of mankind and not for wanton destruction."

"We invite the scientists and doctors of every country in the world to pay attention to the materials which we have studied, so that they too will be convinced of the truth and raise their voices in righteous protest against this abominable crime for which the United States Government has made itself responsible.

"Finally, we demand the immediate ratification and implementation by all countries, without exception, of the Geneva protocol of June 17, 1925, prohibiting

the use of all poisonous and bacteriological weapons."

EXHIBIT No. 483-A

LIST OF ARTICLES FROM THE CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW DEALING WITH ESPIONAGE. SECRET POLICE, AND TREASON

July 1951, pages 40-45: Article, Drive Against Spies and Saboteurs, carrying also "regulations governing punishment of counterrevolutionary elements" of which article 3 says "collaboration with imperialists and rebels against the fatherland are to be sentenced to death or life imprisonment.'

September 1951, pages 130-133: Article, American Spy Ring Smashed in Peiping, making accusation against Col. David Barrett, assistant military attaché in

June 30, 1950, page 18: Article states without giving source of information "the harbor Dunkirk was paralyzed following the closing of capital labor exchange by the authorities and the dockers refused to load military equipment for Indochina * * * meanwhile a few days later, the third consignment of United States military material for France-mainly airplane engines destined for Indochina—arrived in Cherbourg * * * the first cargo of planes for France arrived in March while a French aircraft carrier sailed from Norfolk, Va., on May 12 with a second cargo of 150 American fighters and bombers."

EXHIBIT No. 484

ARTICLES FROM THE CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW DEALING WITH THE PEACE CONFER-ENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS OR ITS PARENT BODY, THE WORLD PEACE Congress, or Other Affiliates

July 1951, pages 20-21: Article entitled "American War Prisoners Broadcast From Korea" says that "the POW's broadcasts were 'made available through the China Peace Committee."

November, December 1952, pages 424-427: Article, Town Meeting Democracy

at the Peace Conference, by John W. Powell.

January 1953, pages 18-19: Article, Let Us Grasp the Hand of Friendship, by Hugh Hardyman, American delegate to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, saying, in part, "If we continue to allow our Government to export diseases and death to Asia and machines for the destruction of life to both Asia and Latin America, the time must come when not merely Government officials but the people who elected those officials will be held responsible by the majority of the peoples in the world for these crimes."

January 1953, pages 12-19: Article, Visions of Sanity, by Anita Willcox, an American delegate to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, saying, in part, "Going back to our beautiful lands now obscured by a foul fog of evil rumors of aggression, fear, and subversion of neighbors, we take with us

the visions of sanity given us by the people of China."

January 1953, pages 67-75: Article, A Tale of Two Factories, by John W. Powell, describing his visit to the major cities of Communist China in company with the members of the United States delegation to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

January 1953, page 66: Statement of 27 scientists and doctors at the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference condemning the United States for using germ warfare.

January 1953, pages 110-112: Article, Report to Readers, describing the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference.

February 1953, pages 178-186: Article, American POW's Write to United States Delegates at Peace Conference.

Ехнівіт №, 484-А

[Department of State press release, October 1, 1952, No. 771]

PEIPING "PEACE CONFERENCE"

Asked for comment on the so-called Peiping Peace Conference and reports that a number of Americans are allegedly attending as delegates, Secretary of State Dean Acheson at his news conference today made the following extemporaneous reply:

This conference is, of course, an obvious propaganda operation in which the Chinese Communists, while taking an active part in defying the United Nations and carrying the war into Korea and while they are joining with the Soviet Government in its violent hate campaign, are continuing to hold 'peace con-

ferences.' I think this deceives nobody.

"In regard to your other question about the Americans, we have heard reports that certain American citizens were attending. From the reports that we have gotten, we think we have about 15 of these Americans identified. Now, some of them were in China already. However, no persons have been issued passports to attend this conference or have asked for passports to attend the conference.

"All passports have been stamped since May 1, 'Not valid for travel to * * * China * * *.' We are now making efforts to find out whether any of the people that we have identified have obtained passports on false information furnished to the Department or whether they have violated the instruction which is on the passport. That is stamped on it as I have said and there are appropriate statutes which cover both of these cases."

EXHIBIT No. 485

EXCERPTS FROM THE CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW SHOWING ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA DURING THE KOREAN WAR

June 3, 1950, page 15: Article from the Shanghai Ta Kung Pao, stating, in part, "United States imperialism has set out to ruin the United Nations and organize another structure absolutely hostile to the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies."

July 8, 1950, page 92: Article saying, in part, "No matter how much Truman may talk of the necessity for supporting the United Nations, he cannot hide from the people of the world that, when it suits him, he is quite willing to make a sham and mockery of that organization." Article, Background of the Civil

War in Korea.

July 15, 1950, page 11: Editorial saying, in part, "As an American newspaper, one of the saddest aspects of the whole trugic affair to us is the part played by the United States. * * * All of this, according to Truman, is being done in the name of defending 'democracy.' All we can say is that Truman is wrong,"

July 22, 1950, page 136: Article, Against United States Aggression.

July 22, 1950, page 138: Article reading, in part, "Despite heavy United States-Australian air cover, hard-pressed American troops in South Korea were rolled back * * * meanwhile, one American battalion was encircled and completely wiped out by the Korean Peoples Army." Article on General MacArthur's charge that the North Koreans had murdered American prisoners, "The American imperialists fabricate such groundless news with the purpose of threatening the United States servicemen whom they have forced to intervene in Korea's internal affairs."

September 1956, pages 10-11: Article reading, in part, "A harvest of hate is already being reaped by America as a result of the heavy raids carried out by the United States Air Force in Korea * * * disillusionment in the ranks has set in in many instances * * * the number of both officers and men who have publicly denounced America's action in Korea is astounding." Article, United States Adventure in Korea Backfires—Militarily and Psychologically.

September 1950, page 30 (facing supplement): Cartoons captioned "Chinese

Cartoonists View United States Intervention in Korea."

October 1950, page 37: Map entitled "For What Do the United States Guns Roar in the Pacific," reprinted from Communist People's World of San Francisco.

October 1950, page 62: Cartoons captioned "Washington Bandits," Acheson, Truman, and Wall Street, Grab the American People's Wealth for a War of

Aggression." Cartoon showing Acheson and MacArthur collecting bits and pieces of human beings for their Korean adventure.

September 1951, page 115: Editorial, "Who Wants War," attacking American

negotiations during the Korean armistice.

September 1951, pages 136-137: Photographs charging barbarism and criminal

acts on the part of the American troops. October 1951, page 185: Article reading, in part, "Heavy United States losses.

American easualties in Korea kept adding up while General Ridgway, in Tokyo. did his best to wreck the Kaesong peace negotiations through provocative incidents and deliberate stalling."

October 1951, page 191: Article, United States Violations of China.

October 1951, pages 202-206: Article, Record of the Armistice Talks, saying, in part, "United States breaks off talks * * * United States violations grow * * *." Back cover cartoons attacking American imperialism and President Truman.

November 1951, page 248: Article, United States Offensive Backfires, saying in part "The defeat suffered by the United States and its satellites in Korea during General Van Fleet's 'limited' autumn offensive has turned out to be one of major proportions." The article mentions, however, American losses without noting any Communist losses.

December 1951, page 275: Article attacking Col. James Hanley, United States Eighth Army, judge advocate in Korea, who formally charged the Chinese volunteers with massacring 2.643 United Nations prisoners of war during the past

December 5, 1951, pages 276-277; Photographs showing kind treatment accorded American prisoners in North Korea and eruel treatment by the United States.

December 1951, page 297: Editorial, United States Rejects Cease Fire.

December 1951, pages 314-315: Article, United States "Massacre" Claims Refuted by American POW's. January 1952, page 77: Article, United States Delays Armistice.

ANTI-AMERICAN ARTICLES APPEARING IN THE CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW DURING THE KOREAN WAR

December 1950, pages 140-141: Article on the strafing of Kooloutzu by American planes with a list of border violations by United States planes.

July 1951, page 56: Article stating that a large number of men in California

are dodging the draft.

January 1952, pages 104-108: A letter to American and allied servicemen in Korea reading in part, "It is not enough to leave the outcome of the peace talks to the American Army brass and the Washington diplomats—all of us must take the initiative and write to our families and friends at home to get behind the peace groups everywhere, to stop this needless war."

February 1952, page 144: Quoting a letter from a first lieutenant stating that

the American people are being misled by dangerous propaganda.

February 1952, pages 172-177: Article, Korean Truce Talks, stating in part that the American negotiators have not wanted a speedy settlement in Korea and have used every means possible to draw out the talks.

February 1952, page 191: Article, United States Planes Bomb Northeast, stating in part, "By resorting to artillery, bombs, and bullets, they try to obtain what they cannot get in the discussion in the talks * * * the American imperialists refuse peaceful methods for settling the Korean question. * * *"

February 1952, pages 208-209: Photograph from documentary film entitled

"Resist United States Aggression and Aid Korea."

March 1952, page 230: Editorial, Korean Prisoners Massacred, assailing

"this latest act of savagery" on Koje Inslands.

March 1952, page 260: Article saying in part, "The huge hoax perpetrated by United States military command in Korea, is that Chinese and Korean prisoners of war are unwilling to return to their homelands has been bared. * * *"

March 1952, pages 304-305: Photographs of wreeked American planes with comment, "The pessimistic American reports on the aerial war would indicate that the United States Air Force has been all but erippled in the Korean fighting."

July 1952, page 5: Editorial on Koje riots stating that despite physical violence, including torture and even death by United Nations forces, the Korean and

Chinese prisoners of war demonstrated their determination.

September 1952, page 234: Article, Who Started the Korean War?

February 1953, pages 112-121; Editorial charging the United States with

stalling the peace talks in Korea,

June 1953, pages 9-10: Editorial, New Korean Peace Offers, charging the United States with holding up the Korean peace settlement and with violating the Geneva Conference of 1949.

MATERIAL FROM THE CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW REFLECTING ADDITIONAL ANTI-AMERICAN VIEWS

June 3, 1950, page 2: Editorial reading in part as follows: "The Western powers, led by the United States, did their best to prop up Chiang Kai-shek's KMT * * * United States, having just burned its fingers in China, is nevertheless hurrying to intervene on behalf of the French."

June 3, 1950, page 12: Attack on the Voice of America by Madam Sun Yat-sen, vice chairman of the Central Peoples Government of China, reading in part as follows: "It would be wise for those imperialists in the United States who are wasting time worrying about the welfare of the Chinese people to spend all of that time on their own welfare."

EXHIBIT No. 486

[From the China Weekly Review, January 14, 1950]

THE WARD CASE

Few recent events in China have received so much attention in the United States as the case of Angus Ward, the recently deported American consul general in Mukden. President Truman called his arrest on charges of beating a Chinese employee an outrage. Secretary of State Acheson declared the United States could not accord recognition to the new People's Government of China while consular officials were subjected to such treatment. Official notes were sent to 30 countries asking them to intervene. The American Legion wanted to send the Armed Forces to the rescue,

American newspapers were equally vehement in their protests. The New York Times deplored the fact that "the old decencies of diplomatic intercourse no longer hold" (forgetting how often, in China, the "old diplomacy" was carried out by an American or British gunboat) and declared that "the Chinese Communists are using the same tactics employed by the Japanese when they made the British disrobe at Tientsin to demonstrate their power and their contempt for the westerners."

TRUMPED UP CASE

In all this discussion there has been little inclination to question whether or not there were any grounds to the charges leveled against Mr. Ward. Rather, the assumption has been the case was "trumped up" as a means of trying to force United States recognition, or to make the United States "lose face," or simply because of Russian pressure.

This line of reasoning, however comforting from the American point of view, leaves certain questions unanswered. Why is it that the authorities in Mukden confined their attention to the American consulate alone? Why didn't they try to force French and British recognition, too, or demonstrate their contempt for these other westerners? Why is it that no other American consulate in China has been the victim of this kind of abuse? Surely, if there were no basis to the charges against Mr. Ward, the Chinese have been guilty of inconsistency, to say the least, in their treatment of western officials.

Equally puzzling, in view of the amount of publicity surrounding the Ward ease, is the lack of interest in America concerning the second major point at issue between the Chinese authorities and the American consulate in Mukdenthe uncovering of an espionage ring which the Chinese charged was directed by the United States Army liaison group in Mukden and the United States consulate. The espionage trial was held immediately following the trial of Mr. Ward, and on its conclusion the People's Court in Mukden ordered the deportation of all foreign personnel in the American consulate.

Yet to such an extent has the Ward case obscured this second trial that the casual reader would be under the impression that Mr. Ward, upon being ordered

to leave the country, gathered together his consular staff and departed.

It is not easy to determine what actually happened in Mukden, since the American and Chinese versions are quite different. However, in view of the effect the case is having on American policy toward China, it is worth trying

to piece together some of its more neglected aspects.

Shortly before the People's Liberation Army marched into Mukden on November 2, 1948, it was announced that the American consulate general would remain in the city. This was to be a test case to determine how American officials would fare under Chinese Communist trade. To prevent misunderstanding the American Government took the precaution of closing down the office of the American military attaché in Mukden and withdrawing the personnel of the External Survey Detachment—the successor and peacetime version of General Donovan's wartime intelligence organization, the Office of Strategic Services. That left 11 Americans attached to the consulate in Mukden. What their precise functions were to be was not clear, since at that time there were no private American citizens residing in the city.

About 2 weeks after the PLA entry the consulate had its first run-in with the new authorities. An order was issued for the surrender of all radio communications sets. The American consulate, which was the only one in the city with its own private radio communication facilities, apparently refused to comply with the order, and its radio set was closed by the authorities on November 18.

Following this incident, the American consulate staff was reported to be confined to the consulate compound, and no communication was received from Mr. Ward for a period of months.

OTHER CONSULATES

The British and French consulates, both considerably smaller in size than the American, likewise were not heard from for several months after Mukden fell. Whether this was due to restrictions placed on the use of communications facilities, as has been suggested in some quarters, or merely to the temporary disruption of the mails and telegraph system between Mukden and Nationalist China is not ascertainable in Shanghai at this time. However, all foreign consulates in Mukden, like those elsewhere in China, now have unlimited use of the Chinese postal and telegraph system except for the fact that they may no longer send messages in secret code.

It should be pointed out, however, that in the eyes of the Chinese none of these consulates any longer had official status. The Chinese position was that the governments to which they were attached still recognize the Nationalist regime as the legal government of China. Therefore, no official relations could exist between the new People's Government that was functioning in Mukden and representatives of the American, French or British Governments. Consequently, the Chinese referred to these consulates as the former consulates which existed during the old regime, and regarded consular personnel as ordinary foreign pationals.

The foreign, or at least the American, position was that consulates, unlike embassies, do not have diplomatic status but function only on a local level to look after the interests of the nationals of their particular countries. The fact that these consulates had remained behind when Mukden was liberated, they maintained, in itself constituted de facto recognition of the new local authorities.

DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY

While this is a legalistic dispute better left to authorities on international relations, it is important to mention in connection with the Ward case, because the hue and cry that has been raised has been based on the assumption that Mr. Ward should have enjoyed diplomatic immunity and that his arrest, therefore, constituted, in Mr. Acheson's words, "a direct violation of the basic concepts of international relations." Although the State Department itself, in its note to the 30 governments requesting intervention in the Ward case, had to admit that "consuls do not have diplomatic immunity," it nevertheless was requesting just that. The newspaper comment, moreover, has consistently referred to Mr. Ward as a "diplomatic representative."

After 6 months the State Department last May announced that because of "arbitrary restrictions imposed on the consulate" it had sent Mr. Ward orders to close the Mukden consulate. On June 16, Ward contacted the American consul in Peking through commercial telegraph facilities to report that he had received

the orders and was preparing to carry them out.

Two days later, however, the Peking radio broadcast a report that a "big American spy ring" had been uncovered in Manchuria which it charged had been directed by the United States consulate and the United States Army Liaison Group in Mukden. The United States Army Liaison Group, the broadcast said,

was the open name of the External Survey Detachment-ESD.

The radio said the spy ring was set up shortly after the Japanese surrender in 1945 and that it continued to operate underground after the liberation of Manchuria was completed in October 1948. It said three men, a Japanese, a Mongolian, and a Chinese national of Sino-American parents, identified as the principal espionage agents, were under arrest. The 3 were declared to have been caught with 6 American radio transmitters, 3 generators, 16 secret code books of the American espionage service, 10 gold ingots for espionage expenses and quantities of military directives and documents on the organization of the American TS espionage organization.

The American Embassy in Nanking replied that the charges against the consulate in Mukden were "ridiculous and absolutely false." A State Department spokesman in Washington said they might have been made to distract attention from the fact that the American consul general and his staff in Mukden had been held incommunicado for the past 7 months. There was no answer to the accusa-

tion from either the War Department or the United States Army.

The case was brought to trial before the People's Court in Mukden on November 26. On that same date, the State Department announced that William Stokes, a vice consul in the Mukden consulate, had been arrested on charges of espionage, according to a telephone message from Mr. Ward to Edmund Clubb, the American consul general in Peking. The Department said Mr. Clubb had been instructed to lodge the strongest possible protest. Mr. Ward's information, however, seems not to have been entirely accurate, for Chinese press accounts of the trial did not list Mr. Stokes among the defendants, and merely reported that he "was present at court during the trial."

EIGHT DEFENDANTS

There were eight defendants, all persons of Chinese, Japanese, or Mongolian nationality. No Americans stood trial, although the names of several Americans were listed as having directed various phases of the espionage activity. They were identified as Nishida, a Japanese of American nationality who was first with the consulate in Mukden and later with the Army group; Richardson, head of the United States Army Liaison Group in Changchun; Myadam, of the Shanghai headquarters of the United States Army Liaison Group; Walsh of the United States Navy Liaison Group in Mukden; Hunt, who succeeded Walsh; Singlaub, head of the United States Army Liaison Group in Mukden; and Barandson, an UNRRA employee.

The three principal defendants were listed as Sasaki, a Japanese; Po Yen-tsang, a Mongolian; and Wu Jen-chieh, a Chinese national of Sino-American parents. Sasaki, according to the Chinese accounts, first worked for the Japanese in Manchukuo and later for the Americans in Mukden, working directly under Nishida. After collecting "military and political information about liberated Manchuria," he was entrusted with an espionage organization called TS and by April of

1948 had established 11 branches in Manchuria,

Po Yen-tsang, the second principal defendant, "pleaded guilty to having acted as an American espionage agent and instigated subversive activities in Inner Mongolia,"

The third main defendant, Wu Jen-chieb, was reported to have been a "mes-

senger for intelligence transmitted between Tienstin and Mukden.'

All three were quoted as stating that they had been summoned to the Mukden United States Army liaison group headquarters in October 1948, just before liberation, and told to go underground. They declared they were each given two miniature radio transmitters, a generator, secret code books, and sums of money.

These radio transmitters, generators, code books and various letters, reports, charts, and other documents, found when the accused were arrested soon after the liberation of Mukden, were reported to have been on display at the court.

All the accused were reported to have pleaded guilty, and they received sentences of from 2 to 6 years' imprisonment. In addition, the court ordered the deportation of all foreign personnel of the American consulate in Mukden "for screening and directing espionage activities against the Chinese people."

STATE DEPARTMENT DENIAL

At the conclusion of the trial, the State Department again issued a denial, declaring that the Americans could not possibly have engaged in espionage since they had been under virtual house arrest since the PLA took Mukden in November 1948. This explanation sounds plausible but is in fact irrelevant. The trial was concerned only with events up to the end of October 1948, when the defendants were alleged to have been given money and equipment and instructed to go underground. There was no mention of activities on anyone's part after that date, since the group was arrested soon after Mukden fell.

A stronger point for the Department to have emphasized would have been the fact that no direct accusations were leveled against any individuals at that time in the American consulate in Mukden, nor were any of the Americans named in the Chinese charges actually consulate personnel. However, certain other evidence brought out in Chinese press reports of the testimony, such as the fact that the Army liaison group in January 1948 was stationed on the premises of the American consulate and that some of the Army employees had offices in the consulate, could conceivably have aroused Chinese suspicion that the consulate was not unaware of the Army liaison group's activities. Moreover, it is quite natural to expect that the Chinese felt the consulate, as an official American organization, would be responsible for whatever loose ends remained after the ESD evacuated from Mukden just before the city's liberation.

WARD ARRESTED

It was in the midst of this situation that Mr. Ward was arrested, on October

24, on a charge of assaulting a Chinese employee.

The facts of the case, as contained in the Chinese charge, were these: On September 27, the employee, a 50-year-old messenger named Chi Yu-heng, who had worked for the consulate for 13 years was instructed by Mr. Ward to tear down a cement pole in the consulate compound. After struggling unsuccessfully with it for half a day, Chi asked for some help. This was refused, and when Chi declared he could not do the task alone, he was dismissed from his job on the grounds that he refused to work.

Chi subsequently applied for his wages, severance pay, and accumulated leave, Mr. Ward was willing to pay only the wages. On October 10, Chi went to the consulate to demand the payment he felt was due him, and he spent the night in the consulate compound. The following morning he was discovered and summoned to Ward's office. There he was beaten and pushed down the stairs, where he collapsed, unconscious, from a forehead wound. Chi's brother, Chi Yu-feng, who

accompanied him, was also involved in the fray.

The Chinese employees of the consulate immediately called the public safety office, whose representatives arrived and rushed Chi to the Mukden municipal hospital, where his case was diagnosed as concussion of the brain, abrasion on the right forehead, and contusion of both arms and right lower limb.

Mr. Ward and four members of the consulate staff, Ralph Rehberg, F. Cicogna,

Shiro Tatsumi, and A. Kristan, were arrested.

The people's court of Mukden held five hearings on the case, then announced that "the court finds that the five accused, in residing in China, unreasonably discharged Chinese workers, withheld their wages, leave allowances, severance pay, and saving deductions, assembled together in assaulting Chinese workers Chi Yu-heng and Chi Yu-feng, caused their injuries, trespassed upon the rights of persons and violated the law and ordinances of the People's Republic of China."

SENTENCES SUSPENDED

Mr. Ward was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment, Kristan and Rehberg to 4 months, and Cicogna and Tatsumi to 3 months. These sentences were suspended for 1 year and all were ordered to be deported. Ward was required to pay US\$174—US\$9 for 9 days' wages, US\$105 for 3½ months' accumulated leave, and US\$60 for severance pay—in addition to medical fees and damages. The latter two items were calculated in local currency—NEC1,365,000 for medical fees and NEC2,500,000 for damages. Although the conversion rate between Northeast currency and United States dollars is not fabulated in Shanghai, the rate between NEC and Jen Min Piao for the last week in November was NEC 18 to JMP1, and the rate between the United States dollar and JMP was 1 to 10,000. Calculated on this basis, Mr. Ward had to pay the equivalent of US\$7.58 for medical fees and US\$13.88 for damages.

Despite the State Department's charge that the arrest was baseless, Mr. Ward did not, upon his release, deny that the messenger had been injured. According to the Voice of America, Ward said he had a dispute with an employee over the question of "employment termination payments." The Voice continued: "During the conversation he [Ward] said that the employee, after walking around the office for about 15 minutes, took a position lying on the floor and began to moan. This was after he had refused to accept Mr. Ward's offer of a settlement. (This 'settlement,' the Voice neglected to add, was US\$9 for payment of 9 days' wages.) The messenger's brother attacked Mr. Ward, and Vice Consul Rehberg came to his rescue. The messenger then threw himself on the floor near the stairs. Mr. Ward, fearing he would fall downstairs, attempted to raise him, and the man backed down the stairway."

The messenger's statement, delivered in court, told this version: "Rehberg told me to go upstairs for my money, and forced me to sign some papers. Because the money was not enough, I refused to sign. My younger brother, Chi Yu-feng, came up to mediate, but was pushed out into the corridor and the door of the room was closed. Rehberg called Ward to the room. Both of them started to push me outside. Ward, who was behind, began to kick and hit me. He pushed me down from the top of the stairs. When I reached the turning on the first landing, Chi Yu-feng came down again. Rehberg left me to give two blows to Chi Yu-feng, and then held him tight. Ward pushed me down to the floor at the landing. At the time my head hit the stairs and my right temple was injured. Ward next used his fist to hit my left eye. After that I lost consciousness."

STAIRWAY TESTIMONY

A good deal of the testimony during the trial centered about the stairway incident. The Sin Wen Jih Pao in Shanghai printed this portion of Ward's examination:

"Question by judge: Did you pull Chi Yu-heng down the stairs?

"Answer by Ward: I was holding the two hands of Chi. He preceded me and looked up at me.

"Question. Had you not held Chi's hands, would be have sat down on the stairs?

"Answer. Yes. If I had not held his hands, he would have sat down.

"Question. Does this not prove that he was not prepared to go down, but that you forced him to do so?

"Answer. I cannot admit this. I held his hands to prevent his falling down the stairs. Had I not done so, I was afraid he might have jumped down.

"Question. If he was willing to go down the stairs, how was it that he fell on the stairs? Does this not prove that he did not want to go down?

"Answer. I dared not let go of my hand, for fear that he might jump down.
"Question. Chi Yu-heng was mentally normal, so why should he jump down the stairs?

"No answer.

"Question. Where did you push Chi Yu-heng to?

"Answer. I did not push, I only remember letting him off lightly. Possibly he fell by my feet or in front of me.

"Question. Did you not say that you were afraid if you let go your hands, Chi would have fallen down? Why then did you let go?

"Answer. I wanted to defend myself against Chi. (Presumably Chi Yu-feng, the brother—Editor.)

"Question. Had not Chi already been held tight by Rehberg?

"Answer. I was not sure whether Rehberg had held him tight enough."

Robberg gave this version, according to the Sin Wen Jih Pao:

"Question by judge: Where did Ward push Chi Yu-heng to?

"Answer by Rehberg: Ward pulled Chi, not pushed him. He was pulling him down the stairs.

"Question. Who was in front, Ward or Chi?

"Answer. The stairs consisted of three sections. I did not see what happened on the first section. On the second section, Ward was pulling Chi down, Chi was in front.

"Question. Was he pulling him down, or pushing him down?

"Answer. Pulling him down.

"Question. According to your description of the relative position of the two men, is not this situation rather strange?

"Answer. On the first section of the stairs, Ward was pulling. On the second section, the situation was as I described. I do not know whether Ward pulled or pushed.

"Question. Well, was it pull or push?

"Answer. Ward was pushing Chi down the stairs. But at the same time he was afraid Chi might fall, so he also pulled him.

"Question. Then Ward was at that time pushing Chi?

"Answer. That was what I saw, but I cannot explain Ward's action."

SEVERANCE PAY

Reading the Chinese accounts of the trial, it is indeed hard for anyone to explain the action of Mr. Ward. However, two things must be considered.

The first is the matter of severance pay, which is relatively new to the United States Government in China and a question over which there have been a number of disputes with Chinese employees, none of them, fortunately, with as unhappy results as the Mukden incident. Before liberation, United States Government agencies did not follow the usual Chinese custom of making severance payments upon dismissing employees. In fairness it should be pointed out that salaries in official United States organizations were generally a good deal higher than prevailing wage scales elsewhere. Nevertheless, losing one's job in China during the last 2 or 3 years has been a major disaster since unemployment has been widespread. When the United States Information Service dismissed roughly half its Chinese staff in the summer of 1947 there was no provision for severance pay other than accumulated leave payment and retirement refund which had been deducted from the employees' own salaries. Many of the employees, especially those in the unskilled levels, had no reserves to fall back on.

After liberation, severance pay upon dismissal became one of the major demands of labor, and this issue was raised in a number of cases involving dismissed United States Government employees, the most notable being the United States Navy employees in Shanghai who were terminated when the Navy withdrew, and USIS employees in the various USIS offices in China who were dismissed when the USIS was closed. In all cases, after considerable negotiation, severance payments were made. The labor regulations throughout China now provide that severance pay must be given. It is possible, however, that Mr. Ward, who was isolated in Mukden for a year, did not realize that American consular establishments elsewhere in China were adopting this practice and

that his attitude toward the subject was therefore negative.

The second matter is that of physical assault upon Chinese. It is hard to believe that such things happen, yet anyone who has lived in China knows that they do. Last summer a member of the British consulate general in Shanghai was charged with hitting two of his servants on the chest and face in a dispute over wages. He admitted his mistake in hitting the servants and agreed to pay them 6 months' wages (at US\$12 a month) as termination allowance. The wife of a leading American in Shanghai scratched and kicked four of her husband's employees who called at their apartment during the course of a wage dispute. The startled employees offered no resistance, and the husband, to save his wife being involved, made the necessary apologies.

FALSE IMPRESSION GIVEN

Without firsthand evidence of the trial itself, it is not possible to give absolute judgment on the Ward case. But it is evident that the reporting of the ease in the American press, over the Voice of America, and in State Department announcements, ignored important facts and tended to give the American public a false impression of the whole affair.

The Ward case is scarcely of sufficient importance to constitute a key issue in America's relations with China. Yet this is what the State Department has

tried to make it.

Secretary Acheson's statement that America could not recognize the new government of China because of the outrageous treatment of Mr. Ward can hardly be taken seriously. It came at a time when the Nationalist Government, which the United States continues to recognize, was firing on the Flying Cloud and the Sir John Franklin, two American ships carrying American passengers and crew, In newly liberated Chungking the nutilated bodies were discovered of some 700 political prisoners murdered by the Nationalists before they withdrew from the city.

The only feasible explanation for the State Department's attitude seems to be that Ward's trial provides a talking point for those opposed to recognition.

In trying to make the most of this talking point, the State Department and the American press have given a most one-sided picture of the case.—Mary Barrett.

EXHIBIT No. 487

[From the China Monthly Review, December 1950]

LIST OF BORDER VIOLATIONS BY UNITED STATES PLANES

The following is an incomplete list of violations of the Korean-Chinese border by United States aircraft during the period August 27 to November 14 of this year. This detailed account, compiled by Hsinhua News Agency, gives a hitherto unsuspected picture of the scope of these provocations.

An incomplete summary of the United States air raids over Northeast China reads as follows:

At 10:04 hours August 27, two American planes circled and reconnoitered over

Chian County of Liaoting Province.
At 10:05 hours August 27, 4 American planes made 2 strafing runs on Talitsu

station of Linkiang County, damaging 1 locomotive.

At 11:04 hours August 27, 4 American planes strafed Talitsu station and the river bridge area of Linkiang County, wounding 1 locomotive driver and a civilian, damaging 2 locomotives, 1 passenger coach, and a guard's van.

At 14:30 hours August 27, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over

Antung City of Liaotung Province.

At 16:40 hours August 27, 2 American planes strafed Antung airfield, killing

3 workers and wounding 19 workers. Two trucks were destroyed.

At 17:45 hours August 29, 4 American planes reconnoitered over Lakooshao of Kwantien County, then flew over Changtienhokow of Kwantien County, where they strafed civilian boats, killing 1 fisherman and wounding 2 others. They later appeared over Kuloutsu of Antung, where they strafed civilian boats, killing 3 fishermen, heavily wounding 2 fishermen and slightly wounding 3 others.

At 22:01 hours September 22, one American plane reconnoitered over Lakoo-

shao, Kwantien County.

- At 22:15 hours September 22, 1 American plane dropped 12 bombs over Antung City, wounding 2 people, leveling 28 houses, the tile roofs and windows of more than 300 houses were damaged, and 5 mou of vegetable land were devastated.
- At 15:07 hours on October 13, two American planes circled and reconnoitered over Yenkiang village of Changpai County of Liaotung Province.

At 20 hours on October 14, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over

Huolungkaitsu village of Chian County.

- At 20:45 hours on October 14, one American plane circled and reconnoitered above Chian County.
- At 14:25 hours on October 15, four American planes flew at low altitude and strafed Antung City.

At 19:50 hours on October 16, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over Tikou village of Chian County.

At 23 hours on October 20, one American plane dropped a bomb in Changtien district of Kwantien County.

At 14:07 hours on October 21, two American planes circled and reconnoitered

over Tikou village of Chian County.

At 14:10 hours on October 22, three American planes circled and reconnoitered over Haikwan village of Chian County.

At 15:07 hours on October 22, three American planes circled and reconnoitered over Lakooshao village of Kwantien County.

At 10:36 hours on October 24, three American planes circled and reconnoitered over Tikou village of Chian County.

At 7:25 hours on October 25, 4 American planes strafed Erhtakou village of Weishaho district of Linkiang County and 1 child and 1 cow were wounded.

At 7:26 hours on October 25, four American planes circled and reconnoitered over Hwangpaitientsu village of Chian County.

At 12:10 hours on October 28, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over Shangtao village northeast of Chian County.

At 10:44 hours on October 29, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over Tikou village of Chian County.

At 11:45 hours on October 29, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over Shihpataokou village of Changpai County.

At 23:15 hours on October 31, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over Huolungkaitsu village of Chian County.

At 23:29 hours on October 31, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over Hwangpaitientsu of Chian County.

At 23:40 hours on October 31, one American plane circled and reconnoitered over Chian County.

At 12:50 hours on November 1, six American planes circled and reconnoitered over Antung City.

At 14:55 hours on November 1, eight American planes circled and reconnoitered over Antung City.

At 11:08 hours on November 2, four American planes circled and reconnoitered over Chian County.

At 13:57 hours on November 2, two American planes circled and reconnoitered over Shihnataokou of Changnai County,

At 14:03 hours on November 2, two American planes circled and reconnoitered over Shihsantaokou of Changpai County.

At 14:10 hours on November 2, two American planes circled and reconnoitered over Shiherhaokou of Changpai County.

At 18:55 hours on November 2, three American planes circled and reconnoitered over Antung City.

At 6:45 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitered over Chiehfang village of Chian County.

At 7:30 hours on November 3, three American planes circled and reconnoitered over Lakooshao village of Kwantien County.

At 9:44 hours on November 3, three American planes strafed over Liangmintientsu and Huashutienstu of Chian County; 1 peasant was killed, 1 cow killed, and 1 cow wounded.

At 9:59 hours on November 3, nine American planes circled and reconnoitered over Hwangpaitientsu of Chian County,

At 10:02 hours on November 3, three American planes circled and reconnoitered over Chian County.

At 10:08 hours on November 3, three American planes circled and reconnoitered over Shanghuolungwaitsu village of Chian County.

At 15:30 hours on November 3, four American planes strafed and dropped 22 bombs over Malukou village of Pataokou of Changpai County; 55 houses were destroyed with heavy losses to the residents' property.

At 15:50 hours on November 3, one American plane strafed over Tatungkou of Antung City.

At 15:55 hours on November 3, one American plane strafed over Pachiatsu village of Kwantien County.

At 17:04 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitered over Yangshutientsu of Chian County.

At 17:16 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitered over Liangmintientsu of Chian County.

EXHIBIT No. 488

[From the China Monthly Review, December 1950]

THE STRAFING OF KOOLOUTZU BY AMERICAN PLANES

On August 27 United States planes began crossing the Korean-Chinese border. Since that time there have been nearly 100 separate violations of China's border by MacArthur's airmen. On some occasions the violation has been by reconnaissance planes, either singly or in groups. On other occasions the violations have taken the form of actual attacks on towns, cities, highways, railroads, villages and even small groups of peasants by American fighters and bombers. In the accompanying story, a reporter tells of his visit to the small village of Kooloutzu and of his talks with the relatives of several fishermen who were machinegunned by an American fighter in one of the earlier border provocations.

Kooloutzu is a small Manchurian village, some 40 kilometers northeast of Antung. If you stand on the ridge above it, you will see an expanse of ripened crops waving invitingly in the early autumn breeze and the village itself cradled in a clump of green trees.

The tallest building in the village, formerly a landlord's mansion, is now occupied by the people's government. Here the villagers meet to conduct their affairs. A village cooperative is also housed there. It buys agricultural produce from the local peasants and supplies them with farming implements and industrial goods.

Most of the 2,500 inhabitants of Kooloutzu are peasants who, since the land reform, own the land they till. They also raise silkworms. In slack farming seasons they go fishing. In the daytime, everyone is at work—the peasants in the field, the women spinning and weaving, and the children attending the village school. Everywhere is peace and tranquillity.

Even the Yalu River flows quietly in front of the village.

On the afternoon of August 20, the peaceful life of Kooloutzu was shattered. A river fishing boat flying the Chinese flag was aground on the beach, and the 10

members of the crew were all working to refloat it, when 4 American planes swept over them. They flew so low that kaoliang (sorghum) plants on the bank

were blown over and uprooted.

Immediately, one of the planes returned, machinegunning the boat. Wu Hsichun and Tung Chin-kuei at the stern were instantly killed. Chang Yun-chih was seriously wounded. A bullet pierced the right lung of Liu Fu-chou, who stood up amidship on the portside. He fell overboard and was killed. Yang Teh-cheng, who was pushing the boat, was wounded, and two of the fingers on his right hand were torn away. Chang Yun-fu was wounded in the water, and his right ribs were pierced by shrapnel. At the bow, both Chen Sheng-kuei and Chia Yu-fa were wounded.

Only 2 of the 10 boatmen escaped the deliberate massacre of the United States air pirates. Yin Hsueh-ton took cover at the right side of the mainmast, while

Liu Wan-hsi ducked into the water during the raid.

The fishing boat is about 7½ meters long. After the strafing, its hull was covered with 20 bullet holes. It was spattered with blood from prow to stern.

I arrived at Kooloutzu village when the funerals were being arranged with the help of the representatives of the people's government sent from the city of Antung and of the Fishermen's Union.

The following morning, I interviewed the family of Wu Hsi-chun. He had left behind him a mother of almost 80, a pregnant wife, 4 children, and a sister. The Government gave them a grant of 15 million northeast dollars, and the union had undertaken to look after them until the children have grown up.

As Wu's body was being placed into the coffin, his old mother in a paroxysm

of grief cried, "The American pirates have killed my son.

"They shot him through his throat. They must be punished; we must punish them. * * *"

A young wife and three children mourned in the home of Tung Chin-kuei. The body of this robust fisherman was scarred by three bullet holes. One was under his right armpit, through which his lung was pierced. His widow buried her head in her hands and cried.

The brother of Liu Fu-chou, the third victim of the United States air raid, told me that he had just passed his 20th birthday, when his youthful life was scratched away by these killers from the other side of the Pacific Ocean.

I visited the homes of those wounded by American shrapnel. In the home of Chang Yun-chih, I talked with his wife and three children. She told me that when her husband was brought home, he was soaked with blood from the wound in his right arm. "Should he become maimed," she added, "and the living conditions of the family endangered, I will demand that American murderers be made to pay this bloody debt."

Three days after the American raid, the men and women of Kooloutzu gathered at a mass rally on the banks of the historic Yalu. They called for the

punishment of those responsible for this slaughter of innocent people.

In the counties of Chi-an, Kuantien, Antung, Changpai, and Linchiang, where the American air pirates have repeated their murderons attacks against scores of victims, the people called for the punishment of the aggressor. In Chi-an, the peasants have re-formed their revolutionary militia to guard their homes. In Changpai, the youth have led the way in volunteering for service with the Korean people's forces. Throughout the northeast the people have asked their Government: "Act now to aid Korea and protect our homes."

That demand is now being echoed from one end to the other of China.—K'E

CHIA-LUNG.

